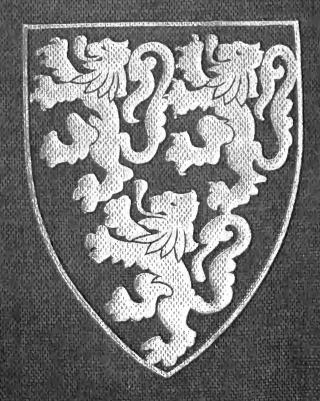
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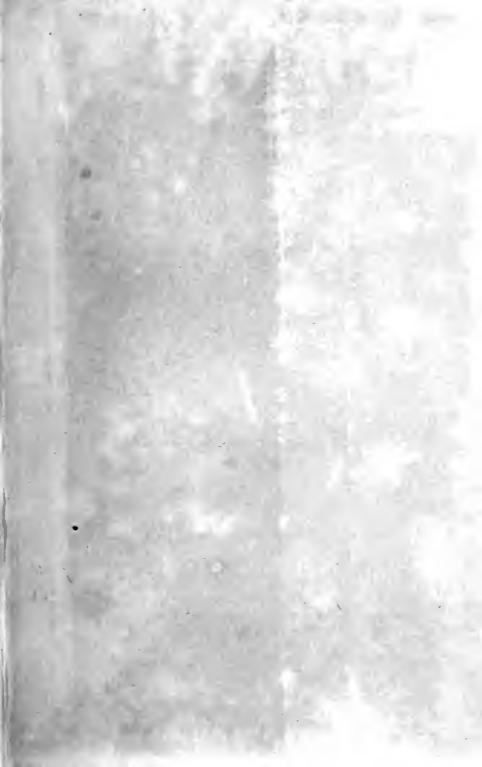
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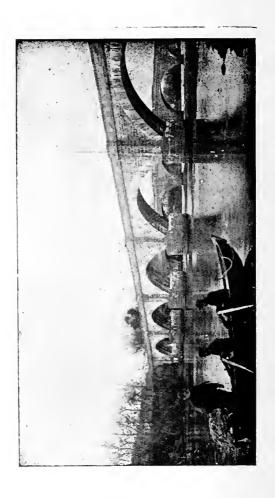
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HISTORY

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Scottland
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FROM THE EARLIEST TO THE PRESENT TIME

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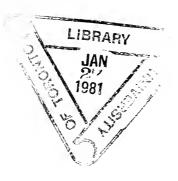
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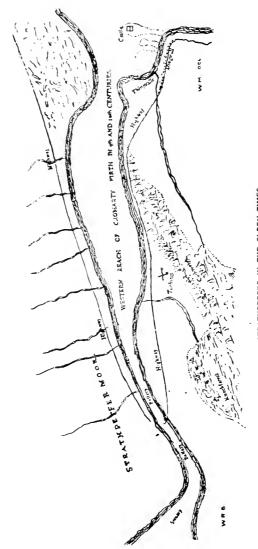


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STRATHPEFFER IN THE OLDEN TIMES.

PREFACE

A History of the Ancient Province of Ross has long been a felt want. Under the conviction that such a work ought to come from the hands of a native of the Province, the writer has devoted much of his lifetime towards collecting and arranging the necessary materials for the purpose. As a native, therefore, and endued with the enthusiasm proper for the task, personally conversant with its storied topography and the social habits of its people, and versed in its once universal language, the writer submits, with all due modesty, the following chapters as the fruits of his researches in what has proved to be a rich and eminently romantic field.

On the completion of the rough draught an arrangement for its publication in serial form was entered into with the editor of the "Northern Weekly," a step obviously attended with peril, for it brought the fierce light of authentic print to bear on the sins both of omission and commission inseparable from a work of such scope, and dealing with a hitherto virgin subject. The narrative has since been largely rewritten, and numerous facts and incidents before omitted have been incorporated. The author is aware that even in its original form the narrative has been eagerly perused by natives of the Province at home and all over the globe, while, as a further evidence of its popularity, it is known that during the recent Soudan campaign the work, as it appeared from week to week, constituted a welcome entertainment to many in the Highland

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regiments there. It is now hoped that in its present form, with the several illustrations that have been introduced, this History of the Ancient Province may possess a permanent value.

The writer has sought to write this book from an independent standpoint, in utter disregard of consequences, and under the stress of a resolve to tell the truth; making no pretensions to that questionable impartiality which relates with equal zest the miseries of the oppressed and the glories of the oppressor. One consequence of this is that the recorded performances of various historical personages as they are passed in review may not be found to form pleasant reading to their descendants of to-day. The circumstance is regrettable, but manifestly unavoidable.

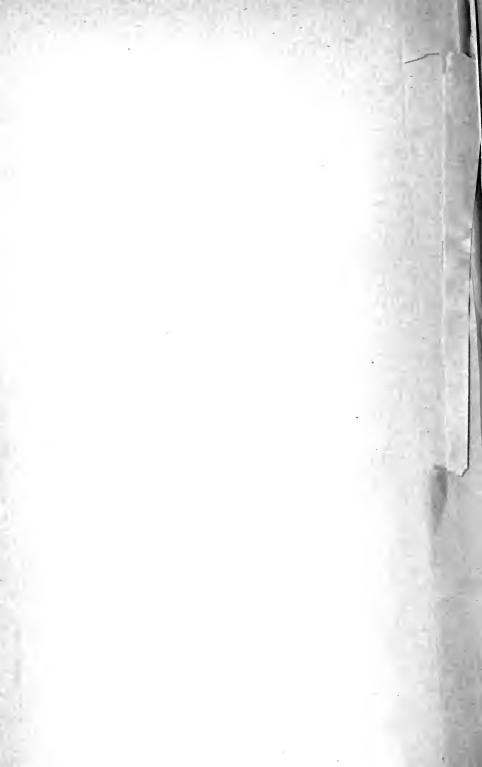
Regarding matters of fact, authorities are usually cited; where no authorities are given, then, to use the words of a distinguished historian, "that portion of the book must rest upon what after all is the chief basis of our historical knowledge—must rest upon the statements of one who has had good means of knowing the truth."

No apology is made for associating so much of National with Provincial history: Ross has never been a district devoted solely to parochial and indifferent to matters of national concern. The County Palatine, it has touched the national life at many important points from the very dawn of Scottish history; it has undergone its full share of the disciplinary trials common to the Scottish people, and has thus helped to nurture the seed sown amid darkness, tears, and blood, which has since developed into the full growth of our existing civil and religious liberties. Dealing thus with the larger aspects of his subject, the writer has perforce omitted such minor matters as connect themselves with genealogical tables and petty Clan skirmishes.

The aid accorded to the writer during the progress of the work

calls for grateful acknowledgment. His thanks, in the first place, are largely due to Dr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, LL.D., and to Mr Kenneth Macdonald, Town Clerk, Inverness-both skilled labourers in the field of Highland story-for counsel, encouragement, and assistance. He would also take this opportunity to acknowledge his obligations for the loan of rare works to the following gentlemen:-Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch; Provost Stewart, Dingwall; ex-Provost Macleay, do.; Dean of Guild Frew, do.; Mr William C. Joass, do.; Mr Colin Fraser, Strathpeffer; Mr William Mackay, Inverness; Mr James Barron, do.; and Mr William Simpson, do. this connection his special thanks are due to Mr A. M. Ross, publisher, Dingwall, for courteously placing at his disposal the valuable collection of historical works included in his library. He would also allude in the strongest language of gratitude to Mr Norman Macrae, editor of the "Northern Weekly," for, among other services, lending his oversight while the work was passing through the press. it is but proper to mention that in whatsoever degree the accompanying sketch plans and views of battle scenes and other places of historical interest add to the value of the book, the credit is due to the younger son of the writer, William R. Bain, Town House, Inverness.

DINGWALL, October, 1899.



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CHAPTER I.

THAT extensive region of the north of Scotland bounded on the southwest by the River Farrar and its tributaries, on the north and similarly by the Oykel, and from the estuary of the first named river on the east to the water-shed on the west, was known to its various tribes from a period coeval with the Christian era as Ros—a term in all probability derived from its characteristic headlands. It would also appear that a connection, the exact nature of which it might be difficult to determine, existed from of old between it and the neighbouring province of Moray, but there is evidence to show that about the time when the Pictish and Scottish monarchies were united in the person of Kenneth Macalpine, a change had occurred, for we then find them severally governed by Maormores, or semi-independent princes of their own.

Probably also about the same period, the west and north-west coast of Scotland, from Cantyre to the vicinity of Cape Wrath, and inland—roughly speaking—as far as the watershed, was constituted a separate district, with probably a government of its own, and known as Arreghaihl, but in process of time—so far, at least, as Ross was concerned—and when the authority of the Earls became established, their jurisdiction was extended to the western shore, with a coast line from Glenelg to the mountains of Sutherland. Then, when as a result of the battle of Largs the Norse power in the Western Isles became extinct, Skye and the Lewis were added to that jurisdiction; but not long after the former Island was separated to form part of the Lordship of the Isles; was again connected with Ross during the lives of the last two Earls, and at the forfeiture in 1476, both Lordship and Earldom together lapsed to the Crown.

In all probability during the reign of William the Lion, and for fiscal purposes chiefly, these wide lands were connected with the Sheriffdom of Inverness, and so remained until 1661, when new arrangements were

made. The modern county of Inverness, mainly carved out of the ancient Province of Moray and partly out of that of Ross, then assumed its present proportions. To the mainland portion was added the whole of the North-western Isles, with the exception of the Lewis, which still maintained its connection with Ross.

Towards the end of the 17th century, Ross had to submit to a further curtailment, and at this time of a still more absurd character; but as it still stares us in the face, and since the mode in which, and the end for which it was effectuated are eminently illustrative of the manners of the time, it calls for a brief notice here.

Coeval in all probability with the dawn of maritime trade on the north-east coast of Scotland, and for the purpose chiefly of uplifting the royal dues on its shipping, Cromarty formed the locus of a royal officer of some kind, but during the interregnum was erected into a hereditary Vice-Comes or Sheriffdom. During the 15th century—it is impossible to give the exact date-its main functions were transferred to Inverness, though as a Court of Regality with title unchanged, it still served to dispense what justice was going. During the chronic political chaos of the times the prefix became somehow eliminated and Cromarty blossomed, in anticipation of his advent, into a Comes, or territory proper to an Earl, and the humour of the thing must have been provocative of much laughter for its whole extent barely exceeded fifteen square miles. But at the period specified, though still remaining one of the smallest counties in Scotland, it had swollen at the cost of its big neighbour to fifteen times its original extent, as may be seen from those spots scattered over its map labelled Part of Cromarty, and varying in extent from a few acres to many square miles. The thing has excited the surprise of many; the question how these "Parts" got there has frequently been put without always eliciting a satisfactory reply, and the matter lying in our way, we shall here as briefly as possible, give some account of the individual by whom it was brought about, and the purposes the arrangement in question was intended to serve.

Parties travelling via the county town, either by road or rail, will have noticed in close proximity to the Parish Church an obelisk, 56 feet or so in altitude, and considerably off the plumb. That monument was erected in his honour during the early years of the eighteenth

century, by a gentleman rather too well known in his day, first as Sir George Mackenzie of Castle Leod, subsequently as Lord Tarbat, and latterly as the first Earl of Cromarty. He had, on the death of his father, Sir John Mackenzie-who we shall meet later on-succeeded to the Coigach, Castle Leod, and Easter Ross properties accumulated by his grandfather, Sir Rory Mackenzie-famous over the whole Highlands as the Tuicher Tallach (Tutor of Kintail)-regarding whom we shall have also a good deal to say. To these properties, and by such means as the moral chaos subsequent to the Restoration had put at the disposal of its profligate statesmen, Sir George made large additions, notably the forfeited estate of Cromarty with its heriditary Sheriffship, which he obtained as a gift from his admiring master, James II. This latter acquisition accommodated itself with rare aptitude to his ambitious dreams. Here was the nucleus of an Earldom, a dignity fairly well within his reach; as counties went it was certainly small, but what was there to hinder a past master in the art of intrigue, as he knew himself to be, having his other estates detached from the wide shire of Ross and added thereto? It would give the prospective title additional weight; and there was a further and by no means despisable advantage, the transfer would occasion such confusion in the public accounts, especially in the department of Crown rents, as would render their due collection difficult or impossible.

After a previous failure he, in 1605, had his manœuvre crowned with success, at least it appeared among the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, and in consequence he saw himself the Earl of that county, of shreds and patches which the reader has seen disfiguring the map of Ross. His satisfaction was, however, by no means unmixed. There was then no public press to throw its search-light on official misdeeds, but facts would ooze out, and tongues, whose wagging neither thumbkins nor boot could silence, would make comments. The special Act of Parliament, it was believed, was drawn up, passed, and recorded by the Lord Clerk Register (Earl of Cromarty) alone, and his long established reputation for falsifying the Records, whereby on one occasion he escaped the penalties of High Treason by a mere squeak, lent its sanction to the belief. It is hardly necessary to point out that after continuing a hindrance to public business for many years the dual arrangement was done away with by special Act of

Parliament, so that the county of Cromarty has virtually no existence save on the map of Ross, and it is not impossible that the next Redistribution Bill will wipe out the very name as an anachronism.*

It has been previously hinted that in order to make up the modern county of Inverness, a considerable slice for that purpose was carved out of Ross. The fact frequently indicated by the annalists, that the Stockfoord in Ros (somewhere in the vicinity of Beauly) formed the link of communication between it and Moray, with the corroborative fact that the parish of Kilmorack was from the beginning as it is still ecclesiastically part of Ross leaves little doubt on the mind that previous to 1661 the Farrar and its tributaries away to the southern point of Kintail formed the natural boundary of the northern Province, a conclusion which a glance at Blaeu's map puts beyond doubt. But in that year, and through the management of the lairds having lands on both sides of the river, those on the northern side were separated from the ancient Province and added to the new county; Seaforth, however, insisted that the immemorial connection between Ross and his district of Kintail should remain unbroken. The boundary line between the two counties, accordingly assumed its present eccentric form (see map) curving round the Muir of Ord, zigzagging in the most erratic fashion across the hills, and after sweeping along the Kintail march, finds its way to the sea by the hills of Glenshiel. Dr Cameron Lees, in the book which he terms the County History of Inverness, among many other lapses, states (page 90) that in "the year 1661 Inverness was disjoined from Ross-shire; Caithness had been disjoined from it in 1617, and Sutherland in 1633." The facts, however, are, that with respect to the first mentioned disjoining, it was of the nature and extent only of that shown in the text; and next that Caithness and Sutherland, which never formed part of Ross, were disjointed not from it, but from the Sheriffship of Inverness during the years specified. We regret to have to point out these faults in what is otherwise an amusing book. There is, however, another disjoining referred to which calls for notice. Until 1649 Ross, and what was

^{*}To do Tarbat full justice, he here followed a bad precedent. "In 1446 William, VI. Thane of Kalder (Calder), got his lands wherever situated incorporated into one Thanage, to answer to the Sheriff Court of Naira. Thus Ferrintosh, Mulcherich, and Drumounie (Mulchaich and Dunvornie) are still, on the map only, forming part of the County of Naira." Dr C. Fraser-Mackintosh.

considered as the shire of Inverness, was represented in Parliament by one person. From that year onwards they had a member each; Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis being returned for Ross.

For administrative purposes during a number of years past, Ross has been divided into such districts as Easter Ross, Mid-Ross, &c., an arrangement which has been found to work well, but it shall not be followed here. For reasons which shall afterwards appear, the line of the Peffery produced through Loch Maree to the sea, will be considered as the dividing line between North and South Ross; the cultivated lands on the east, extending from Beauly to Bonar, and indicated in the public records by the unmeaning term Brae Ross, we shall after the example of the people for ages designate by the descriptive Gaelic word "Machair"; of identical meaning with the "Laich" of Moray; these, with the Lewis and the Black Isle, will constitute the only divisions followed in the present work.

It is difficult to take seriously what purports to be the civil history of any part of the North of Scotland during the first eight centuries of the Christian era. There are extant a few tribal and place names-Ross among others—and what may be held to be lists of Pictish, that is of savage kings, and rude annals of their victories and defeats, but what of human interest can be attached to these, we profess ourselves unable to conceive. Those tribes left no monuments, they were unable to construct them; they had no literature, if we except the lists referred to and some verse commemorative of battles transmitted orally and committed to writing shortly before they (the Picts) became lost to history. With the advent, however, of Columba and his brethren during the latter half of the sixth century, erections for religious purposes began to appear, and, as we shall see, before the Culdee, or early British Church, was overwhelmed by Queen Margaret and her Roman missionaries, its church buildings had become exceedingly numerous; these, however, were the work of a superior race, in which the inferior and early were in due time absorbed.

Giraldus Cambriences, a writer of the twelfth century, who had visited Scotland, gives us, on the authority of the Bishop of Caithness—a type of functionary, by the way, then hardly known in Scotland—a few details regarding its early inhabitants, which may be taken for what they are worth.

"The region north of the Forth, then known as Alban, was divided among seven brothers, sons of Croinne (the eponymus of the Pictish race) into seven twin provinces. The principal part was Angus and Moerne, so called from having fallen to the share of Engus, the eldest of the brothers. The next in point of value was Atheodle and Gowerin; the third Strathdearn and Meneted; the fourth Fif and Fortren; the fifth Mar and Buchan; the sixth Moref and Ros; the seventh Cathenesia, cismontane and ultramontane. The Pictish Chronicle gives the names of the seven Pictish princes differently; according to it they were Fib, Fiddach, Fodla, Fortren, Cait, Ce, and Ceric."

The only authorities of any value who treat of the early period are—First, Richard, an ecclesiastic of some kind, who it is evident accompanied the Roman Armies during their Caledonian campaigns, and who has left us a valuable Itinerary and a map; things which serve to show that he had access to such surveys for military purposes as were made by the Imperial engineers. It is believed that he flourished during the second century. He was followed on the same lines in the fourth, by Ptolmey, no doubt a Roman official, and together they furnish us with the results of such enquiries as had been made, under circumstances of great difficulty, by what then answered to an Ordnance Department.

According to them, Scotland at that period was divided into twenty-one tribal districts, and it is of some interest to know that while the Machair of Ross was in the possession of the Cantae its whole western watershed, from the Volsas Sinus (Lochbroom) to the Itys (Loch Duich) was inhabited by the Creonnes—The Ferocious—the name in the vernacular by which the whole Pictish race was distinguished. From them we also learn that the huge mass of Ben Wyvis was known to the Romans as the Uxellum Montes; the Cromarty Firth proper as the Portus Salutus, while its upper reaches, or Dingwall Firth, was termed the Loxa Flux. Thus, between the "Bishop of Caithness" on the one hand, and the Romans on the other, there seems a manifest collision of authorities; but on the principle already laid down, that the history of Ross previous to the reign of Kenneth Macalpine and the advent of the Norsemen cannot be taken seriously, we shall leave the clearing of the rails to whomsoever it may concern.

To us accordingly the first streak of historic dawn dates from the latter half of the ninth century, that is the period—it is impossible to be more precise—when the Norse pirates had obtained possession of the region lying north of the Ovkel River. Even then, the darkness had so lingered that it is difficult to distinguish the border line separating historic facts from obvious myths; but a little later on we begin to meet with things capable of a species of verification, and, therefore, not liable to fall to pieces when handled. As might be expected authorities are few, and in some cases have to be read between the lines if at all, in others liable to a heavy discount when not set aside altogether; but as a set-off to both, and as a means of pulling matters straight, we have arrived at a period when archaeological, geographical, and geological facts become available, and in the light they furnish what seemed a chaos peopled by shadowy figures of the gorgon species resolves itself into a world little better or worse than our own, inhabited too by veritable men of like passions and prejudices with ourselves.

The authorities referred to are all Norse, and their habit of looking at things from a Norse point of view exclusively, while it has advantages, has, confessedly, corresponding drawbacks. Excepting certain corroboration furnished by Snorre, they may be said to consist of the Orkneyinga Saga, and Torphaeus's Orcades. Who that person was that collected the Runes, edited, committed them to writing, and termed them the Orkneyinga Saga, no one can tell; it is, however, generally allowed that notwithstanding its shortcomings with respect to the sequence of its incidents and its disregard of geographical difficulties, it is a work of considerable historical value. Its importance to us lies in the light thrown on the invasion, in 1033-34, of Caithness by the Scottish king, Jarl Thorsinn's pursuit and destruction of his army, and the subsequent occupation of Ross. Torphaeus, the author of the Orcades, was a Danish historian by profession; he was born in 1639, and died in 1720. His book is confessedly a mere compilation, the gleanings, however, of a very fruitful field; but it is also well to remember that he not unfrequently ekes out the statements of the Runes by others drawn from the unreliable Scottish annalists. It is, therefore, obvious that he could not write with authority concerning events that took place 700 years before he was born; but as all the use we intend to make of his book is where it travels over the same ground and at the same date as the Saga, we shall not be so ill-mannered as to look the gift-horse too narrowly in the mouth. We have thus indicated our line of march, and the guides whose assistance within strictly defined limits we shall use, taking the liberty to remind the reader that in our opening chapters we are leading him through what is practically an unexplored region, where strategic points will have to be laid down as we proceed.

During the ninth century—it would be rash to say how long previously—the Province of Ross constituted one of the nine Scottish districts which were governed by Maormores of their own. The others were Fife, Strathdearn, Athol, Angus, Moern, Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, and Argyle, these chieftains in every instance, there is reason to believe, being connected by blood with the Royal House; while it was certainly the case with respect to those of Moray and Ross. During the rare times of peace, these Maormores (literally great officers) were all but independent sovereigns, but in times of public danger, they, as vassals of the Crown, and at the head of their several contingents, assembled round the Royal Banner; the king, as generalissimo, taking the direction of the means both of defence and offence into his own hand.

Obviously, at no period subsequent to the departure of the Romans, had any public danger arisen of so alarming a character as the actual establishment in Caithness of the Norse pirates; their utter unscrupulousness, ferocity, and for a long period their uniform success, causing them to be looked upon more as incarnate fiends than creatures of flesh and blood.

Happily, contemporaneous with the Norse conquest of Caithness, Scotland, north of the Forth, had become not only in name, but in fact, a united kingdom; Kenneth Macalpine, heir of the Scottish kingdom, by his father, and of the Picts by his mother, became possessor of the joint throne, and having at his disposal its combined resources. That he was a masterful and ambitious prince the annalists assure us, points on which we may accept their authority without misgiving. But to us, the alias by which he was known to his subjects of "Coinnich Chruidh," or Kenneth the Hard, conveys more meaning than all their panegyrics put together; for when a Celt to this day feels called upon to apply that epithet to an individual, there at once rises before the imagination a person who neither spares himself nor anybody else;

one who looks into the heart of things, and cannot be made to accept semblances for realities. Then, when the term is applied to a warrior king a Celtic General Sherman rises before the mind's eye, to whom a "March to the Sea" or anywhere else is merely the means to an end ten-fold more important. Clearly, in the circumstances indicated, Kenneth the Hard did not ascend the throne a day too soon, and to his initiative accordingly must be ascribed those defensive measures which, though nowhere recorded may, "a priori," be inferred from the exigencies of the situation, as well as "a posteriori" from phenomena and historic remains still in evidence.

The public danger and the fit person to encounter it, having been indicated, it is hardly necessary to add that the road by which the common enemy could approach the central districts would acquire an importance it had not previously possessed, and he and his subordinates would at once employ themselves in having it effectually barred by the utilisation of such defences as nature had placed at their disposal, as well as by such artificial means as their military skill might suggest.

In a mountainous country, intersected with numerous streams and one big river, like Ross, nature had from the beginning taken the department of roads into her own hands, and those cattle tracks—Macadam was not born for a thousand years after—will, as we proceed, call for description, but at present they may all be neglected, save one, that leading from Sutherland through Ross to Moray and the South; and since it necessarily occupied the first place in the thoughts of our ancestors at that period, and has undergone but trifling divergence since—the features of the country remaining very much as they were—it calls for, and is capable of detailed notice here.

The Struy Road—so termed by the people, and in constant use to this day—previous to the erection of Bonar Bridge, connected Sutherland with Ross by a ford on the Oykel River, thence passed down its Strath, and via Culrain, Struy Hill, Aultmain, Strathrory, Wester Ardross, to the Alness ravine, whence, after fording the stream, it passed south via Novar, Drummond, Fowlis, Tulloch Castle, Davochmaluac Tower to near where the Parish Church of Fodderty stands, thence across the Peffery to near the foot of Knockfarrel, thence by the base of

Coilnarigh, via Ledvargid into the lines of the Dingwall High Street and Hill Street, and thence by the Blackstone Ford of the Conon direct to the Stock Ford on the Farrar; from whence it does not concern us further. Be it remembered, there was no alternative road, consequently it was the only route to defend.

It may excite the surprise of those of our readers, who quite aware that until well within the present century the site of Telford's excellent road existed mainly as a sea beach, yet whose ideas of the valley of the Peffery have reference only to a tract of fertile land, to know that the road we have endeavoured to describe did not descend via Kinnairdie direct to Dingwall, thereby shortening the way by seven miles. Here, therefore, a description of the now far-famed Strath as it existed 1000 years ago becomes imperative. (See map).

Although foot passengers (and by means of a ferry boat) were, doubtless, in the habit of using that particular line of approach at the period in question, and long after, it was, of course, utterly impracticable for droves of cattle and large bodies of men, for the Dingwall Firth, then so greatly deeper than it is now that cod fishing was prosecuted there with success, extended westward in one unbroken stretch as far as Inchrory (Millnain) terminating there in the gravel formation underlying the Muir of Fodderty, through which the Peffery had cut its way after traversing a second lake, which extended from side to side of the valley, and long since silted up. Whatever may have been the depth of the upper lake at this period, that of the lower may be estimated from the well known fact that during the early years of the present century, when the then laird of Davochmaluac was engaged in cutting a straight course for the Peffery, and with the view of reclaiming the site of the lake, which, in the course of a thousand years had become silted up into a bog, his workmen came upon the vertibrae of a large whale, in excellent preservation, ten feet below the surface. This arm of the firth was by no means of uniform width, but at its broadest part, at the foot of Coilnarigh, it flowed so close to the hill that the highway was no wider than the present railway permanent way, which actually occupies its site. Here the rocky hill rose sheer on one hand and the muddy abyss descended on the other, and though not without a spice of danger to wayfarers, constituted a military virtue of the highest value, as we shall presently see. This,



REMAINS OF DAVOCHMALUAC TOWER.



then, was the main artery of communication between South and North at the period in question, which, if bent on a marauding expedition, the Norse men would have to use, and which, therefore, the powers then entrusted with the national resources would take care to bar in the most effectual manner.

From the character of the conquerors of Caithness, and because of the confusion incident to changes in the monarchy, the reconquest of that country presented difficulties which were deemed insuperable, and no serious attempt was made in that direction for 150 years. But none the less would the constant danger lead, not only to the careful study of the way by which a further raid or conquest might be attempted, but necessitate the fixing on, and arming of, a strong frontier line. Here the fertile peninsula of East Ross, lying as it did at a considerable distance from the line of communication, and mainly accessible by sea, would have to depend on its internal resources with such help as might be furnished by patrols; for what men chiefly feared was that the whole country north of the Spey would be overrun and permanently occupied by the Caithness garrison and such of their compatriots as might assist. In these circumstances the strong line of the Alness, intersecting as it did the highway, would naturally be the first to command the attention of the engineers concerned, but unless permanently occupied by a large force (a thing, when the period is considered, which could not be thought of) it had its weak points, as we shall see when relating the movements incident to the rising of the '15; for it was liable to be turned both from the Boath district and where it entered the sea. Similar, and even stronger objections could be urged against the Aultgraat, in fact no pass incapable of being turned, where a small well-commanded force could hopefully meet one more numerous, could be said to exist until the estuary of the Peffery was reached; and which, a little later on, we shall be called on to describe.

Obviously, however, a place of arms, with a sufficient and permanent garrison, was also indispensable, and thus, "a priori," we have arrived at the occasion which called for the erection of the celebrated fortress, or Castle of Dingwall—a place-name, by the way, of a period two centuries later—a description of which, with its situation, being we submit all that is necessary to establish "a posteriori," its date,

and, therefore, the particular exigency which called it into existence.

It was an exceedingly strong place. Independently of its outworks and offices, it covered about half an English acre, and there is reason to believe was rectangular in design, inclosing two courts. As the fragments which remain of it testify, it was situated close to the sea, the exigencies of the period being obviously both naval and military, and, as may be inferred from the Privy Council Records of a later period, it afforded quarters for a garrison of about sixty men at arms. Its situation, even more than its strength, testified to the purpose of its erection; it was impregnable from the East, the North, and the West, the only quarters from which attack could be anticipated; but comparatively open to assault from the South. It was built on one of the several hummocks formed by the action of the Peffery, the Conon, and the sea, which showed their heads above the water of the firth at high water; the public road along which the rudimentary High Street of Dingwall ran having its solum on another. The amenities of the valley at the present day would be hard to beat, but a thousand years ago these were not only absent but the whole locality wore the most forbidding aspect; it was that very thing, however, which gave it its priceless value as a military position. Here, at low water, was a wide valley filled with a network of deep clayey water-ways and salt marshes, and was in the immediate vicinity of the Castle supplemented on the east and west by wide ditches, the latter still traceable, and forming in all probability the harbour; the fortress itself, a base from whence defensive and offensive measures could be directed both by sea and land. On the south a causeway led from its barbican to the sharp angle by which the public way turned south, at which point passengers would be subjected to interrogations by the soldiers on guard, and by which supplies and peaceful visitors were admitted into the precincts. It may also be taken for granted, that, contemporaneous with the laying of its foundation stone, the workmen employed, together with their families, possessed houses on the line of the existing High Street, and when the work was sufficiently advanced to receive a garrison, that outside population would be vastly increased by the families of the soldiers; thus, at a period anterior to the founding of any burgh in Scotland, except Dumbarton-the castle of which was probably erected at the

same period—Dingwall became an inhabited place. A town still living and thriving well within its second millenium can well afford to have jokes cracked at its periods of eclipse by another of but 500 years old!

From the fact that at a later period this Castle formed the principal residence of the powerful Earls of Ross, it has been inferred that if it did not owe its erection to them, they at least lived there from the first, but the inference has no foundation in fact. The Records show not only that it was in the days of the fourth Earl, and on his reconciliation with Robert the Bruce, that they first obtained possession, but that long previously it was held by a royal garrison; the Earl of Buchan, father of the Red Comyn of Interrugnum notoriety, being its Governor or Bailie. Further, in a rude map deposited in the Bodleian Library, and constructed at the close of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, the Castle of Dumbarton and itself are the only Royal Strongholds inscribed thereon as in existence at the period. When it is remembered that all the previous Scottish Records were made away with by Edward the First, the evidence adduced, though of comparatively later date, will go far to establish our theory of its antiquity and purpose.

The conclusion from these cumulative premises we take to be inevitable. The Castle of Dingwall from its erection formed the residence of the Maormores of Ross; from thence they must have directed the military operations of that stormy period, and this being granted, certain occurrences recorded in the Orcades and in the Orkneyinga Saga become intelligible and interesting.

Torphaeus tells us that between the years 875-880, Sigurd Jarl of Orkney, then in alliance with Thorsten the Red, King of Dublin, having subdued the northern counties as far as "Ekkialdsbakka the boundary" of Ross, encountered in battle the Jarl (Maormore) of the latter Province, whom he names Milbridgh of the Buck-tooth, during which the latter was killed. The Saga supplies us with a few characteristic particulars of this battle. A challenge to have their differences settled after the manner of gentlemen was given by Sigurd, and accepted by the other, the conditions being that the meeting would be held in a specified place, the followers limited to forty men aside. When too late to retreat Milbridgh, to his dismay, found that his

adversary had treacherously mounted his men double, and in consequence the Scots were slain to a man. By way of bravado, Sigurd fastened the head of the Maormore, by the long hair, to his saddle bow, and in course of his rough ride homeward, a wound was inflicted on his thigh by means of the Maormore's buck-tooth, from which—as we understand it—blood poisoning ensued, whereof in a few days he died, and was buried at Ekkialdsbakka (the Oykel). The interment took place, in all probability, in the churchyard of Kincardine, where a monument of artistic design, said to be that of a Norse prince, is still shown to the curious.

Coming down to a period immediately preceding that in which our story commences, we are told by Torphaeus, that between 995 and an earlier but uncertain date, Sigurd the Stout and the Maormore Finlaec (Macbeth's father) encountered each other near the Scindian Marshes—the scene of several battles—with the result, that though three bearers of his raven banner in succession were slain, the victory lay with the Jarl. Notwithstanding Torphaeus's allegation that these marshes were situated in Caithness—a country famous for that particular phenomenon—our belief is that they constituted a portion of that frontier line of which the Castle of Dingwall was the place of arms, and which served to preserve South Ross and Moray from violation for more than 150 years.

It would follow from the preceding that north Ross at this period must have undergone, at the hands of the Norsemen, the experiences of a Debateable Land, but though this was the case it must not be supposed that the authorities were indifferent to its perils, or that the continuous depredations were made gratis. Of the arrangements made by the preceding kings for the above purpose, no records remain; but that they were substantially similar to those of 1023 by King Malcolm II., and as recorded in the Fowlis Papers, we do not feel at liberty to doubt. We are there told that in that year the eponymus of the House and Clan of Munro, an Irish prince named Domnul, and from his former residence on the River Ro, in Fermannah, designated Bun'ro, was invited thence by that monarch under promise of suitable encouragement, to take military oversight of the most exposed district of the Debateable Land in question, that extending from Alness to the Peffery, which in consequence, and ever since, has been known as

Ferrindonald. It gratifies every thoughtful man of Ross to find that amid the family vicissitudes of which the Province was on a large scale the scene during the past 870 years, this particular and most distinguished line still remains a force, and in possession of its original home and acres. Long may it be so!*

Finlaec, Maormore of Ross, after holding the public enemy at bay for over forty years, was, in 1023, assassinated, not by them, but by nephews of his own, the bastard sons, in all probability, of his brother, Gilcomgan, Maormore of Moray, and was succeeded by his more celebrated son-Macbeth, who there is no reason to doubt, was born at his father's castle, and had acted in the Province as his lieutenant. Readers of our early annals do not require to be told that the Macbeth of the drama and the Macbeth of history, bear but the slightest resemblance to each other. Both testify, and correctly, that he was an able-and as the times went-an accomplished prince; the annalists testify by his conduct towards his weak-minded step-son, whom he left to succeed him in preference to his own sons, that he was just and humane; from such history as exists it is not clear that he can be charged with assassination; and it declares emphatically that he was no usurper, for in the right of his wife and his own he held a better title to the Throne than the "Gentle Duncan" or anyone else. But who can withstand the more attractive creations of genius? This preeminent man of Ross will, notwithstanding irrefragable evidence to the contrary, go down to the latest posterity as a traitor, murderer, and usurper; simply because the work of one of our fabulous annalists had fallen in the way of one of the greatest of poets!

^{*}We have duly studied what Skene and others have written on this subject, and have come to the conclusion that the origin of the Munros here given holds the field against every other. It is in itself probable, while all that they have advanced is mere conjecture.

To the same period and occasion must also be traced the erection of the Castle of Edderton, obviously intended as a check on the marauding from the westward of the fertile district of North-East Ross; that of the fortalice of Fowlis itself, and that of Contullich, commanding, as it did, the ravine of the Alness at the point across which the road lay. This latter place of strength, it may be added, formed the den of an "Andrew Dubh Munro," who played the very counterpart on a small scale of the Portuguese Peter the Cruel. His position as administrative officer—Maor—of the Earldom, together with that afforded by his numerous estates, gave him giant power, which he exercised on all and sundry like a giant. Tradition has much to say of himself and his performances, but as they uniformly seem more like those of a devil-possessed ogre than of a human being, they do not call for record here.

For the warlike achievements of the main stem and branches of the house of Munro, down to the most recent times, the reader is referred to the recently published "History of the Munros of Fowlis."

Macbeth was the last Maormore of Ross; that type of ruler becoming extinct by the Norse invasion and occupation, for when the storm in question had spent its force, and the royal authority became re-established, the Saxon title of Earl was instead conferred on the royal deputy.

When thus driven out of Ross, Macbeth passed over to Moray, came, saw and conquered Gruach, his uncle's widow, who though perhaps not quite so eloquent as the poet has made her, was a woman of capacity, had a discerning eye for men, and was at that time sorely in need of an efficient husband. Thus, in the capacity of guardian to his step-son, Lualach, Macbeth assumed the Maormoreship of Moray, and a few years later on, carried its resources with him when he ascended to the Throne of Scotland then existing.*

We have hitherto referred but to the great ones of the earth; Kings, Maormores, Jarls, and Chiefs; but what of the mass of the people and their racial characteristics? On this point, Chalmers' conclusions, so far as they go, may be accepted as correct:—"A Celtic King, a Celtic Government, a Celtic Church, concur to evince that the people were necessarily Celtic who spoke the Celtic or Gaelic tongue. That the Cambro-British speech was spoken by the Picts of the prior period is a fact which we have seen established as a moral certainty. That the Scots overpowered the Picts and overran North Britain in the period which began with 843, are events which have been historically settled. That the Scoto-Irish tongue was spoken in every part of Scotland from the accession of Kenneth, the conqueror of the Picts, till the reign of Donald Bane, is a proposition which may be made so certain as not to be doubted by anyone who would not be charged with obstinacy or folly."

At this time of day the term "conqueror" is usually dropped, the

^{*}Skene, who is nothing if not positive, hazards the assumption that Macbeth had no connection with Ross, and states in a contemptuous manner that the notion originated with George Chalmers—a far more reliable historian than himself—and he seems to think that he settles the matter for all time when he adds, "We have seen that Macbeth was connected with Moray." So have we, but we cannot see how the one fact neutralises the other, any more than that the reign in England of James Isserved to put in question his previous reign in Scotland. It may be stated in this connection that the relation between Chalmers and the Skenes was notoriously strained; the position of any historian, however, who, under the influence of personal spite or professional jealousy, takes to contribution in the professional facts with the view of damaging the reputation of a rival does not call for imitation.

conquest—it is now generally allowed—was simply a survival of the fittest. The Romans knew to their cost that the Picts were brave, but when brought into collision with a race equally brave, and also in possession of a higher civilization, that bravery could not, in the long run, save them from annihilation or absorption. What pursuits the absorbed race had cultivated, such as cattle-breeding and agriculture, still continued the common possession; their offensive habits—polyandry, for example—became extinct with their practice of tattoeing, so that by the beginning of the 11th century the Gael, with all his peculiar virtues and vices, remained alone in evidence.

CHAPTER II.

As already indicated, our History of the Ancient Province of Ross, commences with its Invasion and Occupation by the Norsemen, whereof the date 1033-34, after a due weighing of authorities, more or less real, we shall consider a fixed point. The causes by which it was induced, however, obviously demand previous mention, and for both our only authorities are those Norse authors referred to in the first chapter. We have not concealed their shortcomings, neither do we vouch for their impartiality, but as they narrate, with a few pardonable exaggerations, what were without doubt real occurrences, it is believed that by a patient, critical sifting and comparing of their statements, we may arrive at some reliable facts whereon to base an intelligible story. Even when a foundation is arrived at much still remains to do in the adjustment of materials, for their conclusions in several important points are hopelessly at variance with those of our great annalists; so much so, indeed, that our best historians have held that the difficulties involved are practically insoluble.

The statements of the Sagas point to but one conclusion, viz., that the bloody strife between Norseman and Scot, which darkened the latter years of Malcolm II., had its immediate occasion in the invasion of Caithness by that monarch with the view of reducing the independent Jarl Thorfinn to the condition of vassal to the Scottish Crown. On the other hand, and singular enough, though the date (1033-34) on which the battle of Torfness was fought, and by which Scotland was laid open to military execution, is not questioned, the annalists and those who accept their statements are unanimous in holding that the king responsible for the invasion, battle, and raid was Duncan, who began his short and troubled reign in that year, wherein it should also be remembered, Malcolm died, or was slain. The



DEALACH'NITULT, "TORFNESS"



insuperable difficulties attendant on this view will be referred to later on. These authorities are also responsible for another anachronism; they hold that the death of King Duncan, by the hands of Macbeth, was a result of his alliance with the Norse Jarl; ignoring the fact, to be presently indicated, that, next to King Malcolm, he himself, the last Maormore of Ross, was the chief sufferer by the calamities of the period.

We have already seen that for one hundred and fifty years preceding the period at which we have arrived, the countries and islands north of the Oykel were in the full possession of the Norsemen; the nominal Lord, the King of Norway. Apart from the Islands, which had no real connection with Scotland for some centuries to come, the loss of so much of the national territory, and the peril to which the remainder was exposed, from the Norsemen, had been long and severely felt by the Scottish kings, without, however, a feasible scheme being arrived at either for the recovery of the territory or the removal of the peril. At length, however (1003) the politic Malcolm II., then in his ripe manhood, ascended the Scottish Throne, and having a daughter to dispose of, it occurred to him that a matrimonial alliance between the Royal House and the leader of these buccaneers might serve in a peaceable sort of way to further the national policy. There followed the due negotiations, and in 1008, Sigurd the Stout, the potent Jarl of Orkney, then a widower, became the king's son-in-law.

There is abundant evidence to prove that the marriage in question, like many similar before and since, in no degree answered the crafty monarch's expectations. The Vikingr—Jarls and followers, were in no degree amenable to the social proprieties; they made war and levied contributions alike on professed friends and open foes, and there can be little doubt that in 1010—two years after the union—father-in-law and son-in-law, at the head of their respective followers, met in battle on the plains of Moray, where, after a sanguinary conflict, victory declared for the former. The annalists, with their usual inaccuracy, assert that from the period of the marriage, strict amity existed between Malcolm and Sigurd, but the more reliable authorities, the Gunnlaughi Saga and Torphaeus, serve to establish the contrary.

Sigurd had three sons by his first wife, Somerledi, Brussi, and Einer; but they seem to have been persons of little force of character,

a deficiency—as things were then managed—which usually carried with it fatal consequences. By the Scottish princess, he had one son, the famous Thorfinn, who, in due time, showed that he not only had inherited his father's enterprise and valour, but possessed in addition eminent political talent.

When only five years old, however, his father was slain at the epoch-making battle of Clontarf (1014), and the prospects of the boy underwent eclipse. His grandfather, however, intervened, had him removed to his court, where his education was attended to, and where he remained until he was sixteen; becoming noted for his precocity in strength both of body and mind. As shown by the sequel, and for reasons which have escaped the notice of both annalist and Sagaist, no love seems to have been lost between grandfather and grandson; but having been made titular Earl of Caithness and supplied with some ready money, by the former, Thorfinn sailed northward with the view, though at the expense of his elder brothers, of making the shadowy Earldom a solid principality.

Though precociously capable, matters would probably have gone hard with him if he had not been seconded in his efforts by Thorkel, his foster father, duly celebrated in the Sagas as Thorkel Fostri. Both together proved too strong for the elder brothers; driving them first out of Caithness, and ultimately out of the Islands as well.

Thorfinn's portrait on arriving at manhood, and as given in the Saga, is sufficiently striking:—"He was stout, strong, severe, cruel, and ugly, but withal very clever." Before we part with the "greatest of all the Jarls," sufficient evidence will be forthcoming to show that the foregoing estimate of the abilities of this swarthy, broadshouldered, splay-footed personality erred rather in defect than excess.

There is reason to believe that since Thorfinn continued to walk in the ways of his fathers, relations between himself and his grandfather became more and more strained, while the fearful reprisals his followers underwent during their early raids, by the Scottish king, may have subsequently induced the Jarl to make the Saxon, rather than the Scottish coasts, his chief hunting grounds. It is, indeed, probable that Malcolm's uniform success when repelling these forays would have induced the belief that the Norse power in the North was becoming a

manageable quantity, and might even be braved with impunity on its own doorstep; on this point, however, as we shall presently see, he found himself fatally in error.

Malcolm was a warrior of experience; he well knew the risks of war, and therefore preferred peaceful negotiations to the use of the sword, if, by the former method, the object sought was at all attainable. He, as well as his royal predecessors, had for generations, as we saw, a special line of policy always before them—the subjugation to the Scottish Crown and reduction to peaceful habits of the fierce people living north of the Oykel River, but though these had been frequently beaten during their inroads, an attack on their power at its centre was all along felt to be too hazardous to attempt.

Towards the closing years of Malcolm's reign, however, matters there seemed to wear an inviting aspect, and that monarch resolved to commence proceedings by opening negotiations with his scapegrace grandson; but that grim individual had ambitions of his own; he was virtually an independent sovereign, saw no occasion why he should climb down to vassalage even under his grandfather, and probably replied in offensive terms that he preferred political relations would continue as they were. After one or more similar rebuffs Malcolm, it would appear, became exasperated, and resolved that come what might a vigorous attempt would be made to have Caithness and its southern land reincorporated with the ancient kingdom. This resolve, accordingly, followed up by two armed invasions, constituted the immediate occasion of that tremendous inroad which in retaliation Jarl Thorfinn conducted as far as Fife, and which also led to his occupying Ross by way of material guarantee for the remainder of his life.

The first aggressive step taken was harmless enough; Malcolm declared the Earldom of Caithness vacant, and appointed to the barren honour a grandson probably, designated in the Saga as Earl Moddan. His next was to send that person to Caithness at the head of what was deemed an adequate force, to kill if necessary, and take possession, supporting the military by a number of armed galleys. Though—as we learn from the Saga—Thorfinn's whole naval resources consisted of but six well-appointed vessels, such was the vigour of his attack that the whole Scots fleet were destroyed; while simultaneously, and some-

where in Caithness, or on its borders, Moddan was encountered by Thorkel Fostri, had his army defeated, and was himself some time after slain.

This was certainly an untoward beginning, but Malcolm's blood was now up, the stain on his arms must be wiped out, and with this view he resolved to lead North in person the whole military and naval force of the kingdom. He did more; to make assurance doubly sure, he hired or borrowed a large contingent from Ireland, the people of that country having recently acquired a great reputation by their valour at the decisive battle of Clontarf. It is also evident that Thorfinn, on his part, made due preparation towards giving the invaders of his dominions a suitable reception. It would, however, appear as if he was unable to make any addition to his armed galleys, but the smaller craft would, no doubt, be actively employed all along the coasts in collecting combatants, bringing, it is also probable, strong reinforcements from Denmark and Norway. It is otherwise difficult to see how Thorfinn's army could in point of numbers approximate to that of the Scots; while it is a well-known fact that in similar emergencies the Norse people failed not to stand by each other against the common enemy. The studious reader will here remember how Sigurd-Thorfinn's father-led a great fleet from Caithness as far as Dublin, where, with most of his people, he fell in battle.

The generals of those days wrote no despatches, few of them indeed could write, while the chroniclers—such as they were—gave their strength to personal encounters rather than to route marching and military tactics. Though—leaving, as we must, the sea out of account—there was no alternate line of attack from south to north other than that which we have described, we are withal thankful to Torphaeus for expressly indicating that by it the Scottish forces marched, "per superioram Scottiam," while from the bald and confused account furnished by the Orkneyinga Saga, we can only gather that there occurred no serious fighting in Caithness. It indeed seems to us that Malcolm, finding his grandson better prepared than he had anticipated, resolved to draw him away from his base, with the view of inveigling him into a position where, humanly speaking, his destruction would be inevitable. Then, should that forecast be realised, the subsequent occupation of Caithness would present no difficulty whatsoever-

Meanwhile, for the second time, Thorsinn met and destroyed the Scottish naval force, thereafter landed, joined his army, then, hanging on the traces of the Scottish king, took up their pursuit with vigour. The foregoing, after many siftings, seems to us to embrace the whole of the leading facts.

The one event which rendered this retreat memorable was, of course, the famous battle of Torfness, where the controversy between King and Jarl, having come to a head, was fought out to the end; and where, among other things, it was decided which of these potentates was to rule for considerably more than a generation all the countries north of the Farrar.

Apart from the interest which attaches to localities where important events were enacted, there are questions of historical importance—as we hope to show—dependent for their settlement on having the locus of this decisive struggle finally determined. Where then was the battle of Torfness actually fought?

Skene and his followers, omitting, as we think, to look geographical and tactical facts in the face, and by taking unreliable annalists at their own valuation, have concluded that it was situated somewhere on the plains of Moray, and probably in the neighbourhood of Burghead. To us this theory—for it is nothing else—carries improbability on its face, because it is in the last degree incredible that a general of Thorfinn's talent and enterprising character would permit his retreating enemies to march unmolested for at least 150 miles through a country where the dangerous fords of four considerable rivers formed as many invitations to accomplish their destruction. But assuming that he did so, preferring to assail them somewhere in the Laich of Moray, and by the sea route, how was he to transport thither an army probably numbering 10,000 men, with six ships available for an enterprise in which 600 would barely suffice? Even to those whose military studies have gone no further than following operations of the above nature in the newspapers, at a period, too, when the resources of civilization exceed those of the eleventh century by a hundred fold, this hypothetical operation will savour more of the comic opera than actual warfare.

But there was a retreating, as well as a pursuing army, to the movements of which the latter would have to conform, and at its head was the most experienced and successful general of the age, to whom—assuming that he had no strong position on which to retreat—the long march referred to would involve certain destruction. In defiles and passes he could, by means of skirmishers and rear-guards, hold his own with some hope of success, but if the fording of the frequently swollen Conon, and if ever he got that length, the still more dangerous Farrar, had to be negotiated in the presence of an active enemy, the preferable course would clearly be to lay down his arms and surrender at discretion.

To sum up: we have gone over these things with the view of submitting, to the judgment of the reader, either of two alternatives. If any part of the plains of Moray formed the scene of the impending battle, no clearer proof could be advanced of the imbecility of both King and Jarl; or, on the other hand, that the annalists to whom the conception of the theory is due were in pitiable ignorance of the rudimentary principles of actual warfare!

From the considerations to be adduced it must not be assumed that Malcolm had any intention of selling himself or his people gratuitously into the hands of the enemy. The leading principles of war are the same in every age, though liable to modifications at the call of circumstances, while stratagems, in which that monarch was an expert, were no less practiced then than now, and, therefore, we cannot rid ourselves of the conviction—already hinted at—that the check he accepted in Caithness, and the retreat into Ross which followed, were the mere details of an elaborate plan, the purpose of which was to lead the Norse army into a trap, where, notwithstanding their valour and numbers, they could be destroyed with a minimum of danger to their opponents.

Having seen that, necessarily, the battle of Torfness must have been fought in Ross itself, it will be incumbent on us to show that the place we assign for the encounter, possesses not only the trap-like characteristic referred to, but also meets the conditions laid down in the Saga.

We have written much to little purpose if we have not led the thoughtful reader to anticipate that the position in question must have been in proximity to that fencible frontier described in our first chapter, of which the Castle of Dingwall formed the place of arms and the residence of the officer in charge, and though a minute description from a military point of view will come in more appropriately later on, when surveying it from the camp of its assailants, let us in the meantime hear what the Saga says, or sings, on the subject:—

The Wolf's bit (sword) reddened its edge, In the place called Torfness, A young Ruler was the cause, This happened on a Monday, In the conflict south of Ekkial, The thin (sharpened) swords sang! When the valiant Prince fought, With the Ruler of Scotland.

The obvious force of the term "south of Ekkial" ("Ekkialsdbakka the boundary," Torphaeus), corrupted into the Oykel, is, that the battle occurred in Ross rather than Caithness, while elsewhere it is further described as having taken place south of the Brae-Fiord, or Dingwall Firth, not the Breda-Fiord, or Firth of Moray. It has also been pointed out that the strength of the frontier line arose chiefly from the fact that at the period in question the greater portion of what is now Strathpeffer formed the western reach of the Fiord in question. A position south of the Brae-Fiord should, accordingly, be found somewhere between the foot of Knockfarrel and Dingwall, thus narrowing the inquiry to that which afforded the best means of meeting an opposing force on superior terms. Thus, then, and apart from conclusions otherwise arrived at, two of the points referred to in the Saga are met to the letter.

Here, however, a difficulty occurs which to some minds will appear insuperable; no place in the locality is now known by the appellation, Torfness, but, as will be seen from what follows, the difficulty is more apparent than real. It may be noticed at the outset that at present the place-name is not applicable to any locality in Scotland, so that, if its mere absence is to determine the question, no more need be said, and inquiries on other lines are ruled out of court. Is not this asking too much?

But to deal with the matter seriously. When those changes which have occurred in place-names well into modern history—not to speak of what has taken place within living memory—are considered, and above all, as in the case under consideration, when centuries after the event an attempt was made to reduce to (phonetic) writing a place-name in a foreign tongue, the soft vocables of which must be acquired in childhood, if at all, it is obvious that to ground objections on its absence as

against conclusions drawn from historical and geographical facts, is to give precedence to the trivial over the solid and the unalterable.

Thus, by a cautious use of the exhaustive method applied to such historical materials as have survived the intervening centuries, by supporting it with the results of investigations which have the geography, archæology, and geology of the district for their object, we have at length arrived at what, in the absence of any other feasible locus, promises to be, if not primitive rock, soil consistent enough to bear our tread, as contrasted with the fathomless bog of the fabulous annalists and their followers.

The battle of Torfness itself, and the military features of that site, on which we have no doubt whatever it was fought, now demand our attention.

We shall assume that Jarl Thorfinn and his merry men, having pursued the Scottish army until it halted and fronted in its chosen position, also halted on Fodderty moor, near the two monoliths erected long before by a forgotten race, there to refresh themselves from the water of the streamlet, and look about them. Taking our stand, in imagination, beside the Tarl and his staff, we shall describe the scene as it must have appeared to them. We see well to the left the Scots occupying the pass, or Bealach-an-ault, a position the strength of which it would hardly be possible to overestimate, and from which, if they were to be driven, the skill of the opposing general, and the valour of his troops, would require to be of the highest order. Directly in our front, and negotiable only by either flank, arose the remarkable vitrified fort-crowned hill, then designated as Tor something or other, now known as Knockfarrel, one of the towers of what a local antiquary, with military tastes, has not inaptly termed the Citadel of Central Ross-a plateau presenting all round a series of strong defensible positions. To the right, as far as the eve can reach, are seen two other unscaleable Tors, pierced, however, by break-neck passes. Then, to our left-front, about a mile away, appears another hill, its steep northern face overlooking the fiord, and merely separated from it by the narrow highway, while the other trended north-westward until lost in the plateau. Then, as now, it was wooded from base to summit, and from time immemorial has been known as Coil-na-Righe (see Ordnance Map), or the Wood of the King, but of what king, history, and even tradition, is utterly silent. Between the

Wood of the King and Knockfarrel lies the pass of Bealach-an-ault, itself narrowing as it ascends from about 500 to half that number of yards, and forming at that period a rough alternate route for pedestrians going south, on their obtaining the sanction of the local patrol. It was then, and until well within the memory of persons still living, the site of a village, where, in all probability, the patrolling party were quartered.

But on the present occasion, a formidable notice forbidding travel either by highway or pass, would be exhibited by the presence, in force, of the entire Scottish army; their right wing occupying Coil-na-Righe in its full extent, its flank resting on the rocky northern face, and forbidding passage that way; their centre and left wing extending across the pass itself, having its flank resting on the spur of Knockfarrel, with what additional security the deep ravine in the front afforded. formidable position, which had, moreover, a secure line of retreat, was accessible in force from one direction only, and by tactics of the simplest character. Its assailants, thrown into a deep column, would have to march down between the hill and fiord to the foot of the pass; then, by simply facing to the right, and ascending three or four hundred yards, would come to sword play with the enemy, fully developed on both front and flank, and if further progress was to be made, fighting of a superlative character was indispensable. Thus, too, the trap-like nature of the position became apparent. If the attacking column underwent repulse, or even check, it was liable to be driven pell mell down into the waters, or tenacious mud of the fiord, and to destruction inevitable and absolute. With these forbidding facts before him it may have for the first time dawned upon the Jarl that the retreat effected by his astute grandfather had more to be said in its favour than he had bargained for; the risks inseparable from attempting to force the position well nigh balancing the humiliation involved in retreating by the way he came.

It was, however, in strict accordance with his resolute character to scorn the latter alternative, and resolve on making the attempt. Whether he supported it by a turning movement, and by means of a strong detachment by way of the pass to the eastward of the Tor which, though, for a full half-mile, as steep as the roof of a cathedral, would present no difficulty to resolute men, or, whether having crossed the valley, massed and marched his men in the way indicated, resolved to take the bull by the horns with his entire force, cannot, of course, be but conjectured,

but certain it is that after a desperate encounter, in which the Irish contingent covered themselves with disgrace, and many of the Scots were slain, Malcolm's army gave way all along the line, the survivors readily escaping across the plateau to the fords of the Conon. The military lesson taught the Scots, by this battle, was that no position, however strong, will, in the absence of discipline and steadiness, avail against an inferior force in possession of these essential qualities.

Returning to the Saga, we find it cautiously adding: "Some say that the king was killed there," a statement to which we shall recur later on, since it manifestly calls for full investigation. Such, then, is our reading of both scene and event, and in supplying it we are as unconscious of evading difficulties as creating them. The historical materials we have endeavoured to utilise are confessedly of the most fragmentary character, and, but for the result of other researches, in their turn due to long residence in the district in question, and which had nature's changing moods for their objective, might, while let severely alone by the historian, continue to furnish speculation to the mere antiquary.

The battle over, the victors, too fatigued to take up the pursuit, would descend to the fortress and town below, then known as Inneurfueran—still its Gaelic name, and that by which it is still remembered by the Papal Chancery, and where the former, bereft of its Maormore, who had shared the fortunes of his sovereign, and though still as strong as nature and art could make it, being unequal to a long siege and blockade, would, therefore, on the first summons open its gates and receive a garrison from its conqueror.

The following passage from Buchanan's History, which he, in turn, borrowed from the annalists, and on which Skene has evidently based certain of his theories, though to our mind, and as it stands, is of no historical value whatsoever, will, as regards sequence of events, be found to emit a distinct adumbration of portions of our previous and future narrative. Writing of the reign of Malcolm II., according to him the 83rd King of Scotland, he says:—"Harold, King of the Danes, sent Olavus of Scandia, and Ennecus, general of the Danes, with a great army to Scotland; they ranged all over Moray, killing whomsoever they met, took away all they could catch, whether sacred or profane; at last, gathering into a body, they assaulted castles and other strong places. While they were beseiging these places, Malcolm had raised an army

out of the neighbouring counties, and pitched his camp not far from them. The day after, the Scots perceiving the multitude of the Danes and their warlike operations, were struck with terror, the king endeavouring to encourage them to little purpose. At last a clamour was raised in the camp by those who were willing to seem more valiant than the rest, and when it was raised, others received and seconded it, so that presently, as if they had been wild, they ran upon the Danes without the command of their leaders, and rushed upon the points of their swords, who were ready to receive them. After the foremost had been slain, the rest fell back faster than they came on. The king was wounded in the head, and had to be carried off the field to an adjacent wood, where he was placed upon horseback, and so escaped with his life. After this victory the Castle of Nairn was surrounded by the Danes, the garrison being dismayed at the unhappy sight of the defeat, yet they were all put to the sword after surrendering. They strongly fortified the castle, because it was situated in a convenient pass, and of a peninsula made an isle by cutting through a narrow neck of land for the sea to surround it, and they called it Burgus. The Danes, upon this good success, resolved to fix their habitations in Moray, and sent home their ships to bring over their wives and children, in the meantime exercising all manner of hardships over the captive Scots." When the statements of this paragraph are pulled straight by materials found in itself, compared with the narrative of the text, and subjected to a further adjustment by facts to be given later on, it will probably occur to the reader that here, and as the kernel of the myth, we have substantially the Invasion and Occupation of Ross, in 1333-34. The reader will notice that the culminating catastrophe of this Danish inroad was the defeat of King Malcolm II., his being wounded in the head, the wood to which he had been removed being near or forming. part of the battlefield, coincidences which do not require pointing out. Then there occurred the surrender of a castle, situated in the vicinity of the field of battle, its permanent occupation and strengthening; another striking coincidence. The reader will further notice that in consequence of their success, the Danes resolved, as a step towards a permanent occupation of the country, to send home for their wives and families, a circumstance of which there is no record whatever regarding Moray, where Norse place-names are conspicuous by their absence, but to a large extent is the case with Ross, where, as will be seen, they abound. The castle in question, he will also notice, was situated in a convenient pass, an environment he will seek in vain either in the case of the mythical Castle of Nairn, or in the actual defences of Burghead, but which was the very occasion for the erection of that of Dingwall. Finally, he will remember that the place-name Dingwall originated in its Thing-vallr, or Parliament Hill, subsequently applied to town and castle, a term as characteristic of the Norse people, and their permanent settlement, as anything could well be; while nothing similar, or anything resembling it, it will be allowed, occurs anywhere in the wide province of Moray.

Before proceeding with our narrative, the fate which befel Malcolm II. calls here for a brief inquiry. We know that he was right royally buried in Iona, but the authorities are not so unanimous with respect to the locality where his stormy life ended. Marianus Scotus, the Irish annalists, the Chron, in Innes, the Chron, Eligiacum, and the Chron of Melrose, give one locality-Glamis, and a quiet death. Buchanan, however, gives three, and in every instance, a death by violence, and we have seen what the Saga has to say on this subject, that if he was not actually slain at Coil-na-righe, he must have received his death wound there. To this we add an inference of our own, that to this circumstance it is owing that from that day to this the hillside in question has been designated by the Celtic population as "The Wood of the King." Nor were reasons awanting for hushing up the occasion and the fact. Death, or a mortal injury received even in battle, at the hands of a grandson, would be difficult to distinguish from parricide, by common consent a scandal of the first magnitude, and, therefore, to be relegated to silence and forgetfulness with all convenient speed.

It occurs to us, however, that all and sundry of these authorities are capable of being harmonised. Malcolm, let us say, received his death wound in Coil-na-righe; he was carried from thence to Glamis by his servants, and after lingering there for an indefinite period, quietly died. The authorities here, it should be remembered, were the mere newspaper correspondents and reporters of the time, with far less facilities for acquiring information than their modern brethren, and we all know how unreliable as authorities the latter occasionally are. We have thus in

the facts—the transmitter being rumour, with full colour brush always in hand, sufficient materials not only for five but for five hundred versions of the same occurrence.

The reader whose studies have led him into the obscurities of this period, must have frequently seen the troubles which found their climax at Torfness, ascribed to Duncan, rather than to Malcolm, the authorities being those annalists from whom Buchanan obtained his version of the great Norse Raid. We have already referred to the statement as a fiction, but, since to this hour it is continuously retailed, it demands a fitting investigation here.

It is admitted on all hands that Malcolm II. passed over to the majority in 1034, and since summer and autumn are the only seasons wherein to conduct extensive military operations in the Highlands, that year must have been well advanced before the culminating event took place. Admitting that Duncan's accession took place immediately after his grandfather's death, but insisting that Torfness was also fought in that year, there would remain but two or three months at most into which to crowd the series of important events which terminated in that battle. At this stage we merely remark that the man who can believe that is capable of believing anything! It is true, the Saga does not give the name of the king implicated; he is simply designated by the offensive epithet-Karl Hundasoun (Carle, the son of a dog!); thus forcing us to look elsewhere for the name by which he was known among his own subjects. In this connection we have gone over at some length our reasons for believing that the king in question could be none other than Malcolm; that the events indicated could not be crowded into the few short months alone available of the first year of Duncan's accession; and now that monarch's character as a man, and the manner in which his short reign of five or six years was spent, is, we submit, all that is necessary to rule him out of court.

Duncan, by all accounts, was a feckless sort of person, and utterly unequal to the electric rapidity involved in those operations, with which, on the foregoing hypothesis, he would have to be credited. During the year following his accession—every hour of which would be required for the Caithness campaign—he, in fulfilment of an engagement made by his grandfather with the great Canute, invaded England, passed through Northumberland, where he was repulsed by the Saxons, losing

many men and what reputation he had. For several years thereafter he appears to have sunk into a state of political insignificance, but towards the close of his life and reign, certain inroads from seawards, made by the Norsemen seemed to have called for his presence in the Province of Moray, where, but not at Norse hands, he met the fate we all know of.

A word here on the causes which led to that catastrophe. Our redoubtable countryman, Macbeth, together with his wife, the Lady Gruach—a most energetic person—had both suffered in their families and estate at the hands of Malcolm. Through him the lady's grandfather, Kenneth IV., was dethroned and slain; her brother assassinated; her first husband, Gilcomgan, with fifty of his people, were burnt in his own castle, while she and her son remained fugitives until she married and found a champion in Macbeth. If Boece is to be believed Macbeth's mother was the second daughter of Malcolm II., and he had, therefore, apart from his being the representative of the ancient kings, the personal grievance of being superseded in his hereditary rights by Duncan, the son of a younger daughter. Clearly, with these things within his knowledge, as occupant not only of a slippery throne but as heir to the guilt involved in its acquisition and retention, it was a piece of mere fool-hardiness on the part of Duncan, on pretence of superseding the Local Authority, and in no sense as a guest, to venture within arm's length of the powerful Lord and vindictive Lady of Moray. These facts will serve to indicate how much the great dramatist was drawing upon his imagination.

But, to return to the victors of Torfness, whom we left occupying the castle, and encamped in the vicinity of Dingwall, where, it is not likely they tarried longer than the circumstances required; the discomfiture of the Scottish army had left the whole country open to military execution, and the opportunity was one which the cruel Jarl was not the man to neglect. He carried his ravages as far as Fife, or, as detailed in the Saga, "Thorfinn's men spread over the whole country and burnt every hamlet and farm, so that not a cot remained. Every man they found they slew, but the old men and women fled to the deserts and woods and filled the country with lamentations. Some were driven before the Norwegians and made slaves. After this Jarl Thorfinn retired to his ships, subjugating the country before him."

Obviously this description requires to be accepted with caution, though, doubtless, the country suffered much because of the hurry of an old king to eat fruit before it was ripe.

During the succeeding thirty-seven years the Castle of Dingwall formed the southern residence of "The Greatest of all the Jarls," a distinction it obviously owed to its central position, being midway between Caithness and the Western Isles, its being in command of the roads north, south, east, and west, and above all where the characteristic Norse institution of Things or Parliaments (Thingvallr) were held. was known to that people by the long forgotten name, Gaddgedlae, a standing puzzle, by the way, to "the able modern editor," and regarding the precise locality of which place the books also are utterly at sea. Torphaeus would have us believe that it was situated in Caithness, where, no doubt, Thorsinn had a residency; "Cateroquin in Cathensia Gaddgedlae Thorphennus plerumque residerit." The Orkneyinga Saga, on the other hand, places it where Scotland and England meet; a very large order indeed! They thus manifestly destroy each other. latter, however, is suggestive of a frontier fortress, or residence, a condition, as would have been seen, fully implemented by the castle of the Maormores.

^{*}Wynton has it that Macbeth was Thane of Cromarty, a statement that has imposed on many, and therefore calls here for one or two remarks. It is a fact capable of the most stringent proof, that the title in question with that of Earl was not introduced from Saxon England into Scotland until long after Macbeth was in his grave. It could not, therefore, be borne by him. Further, it indicated a much lower rank than Earl, and accordingly could not have been adopted by a prince of the blood, as we know Macbeth to have been. When introduced into Celtic Scotland it was considered the equivalent of chieftain or Toshach, as distinguished :rom chief, or head of the clan. Thus, the Baron or Thane of Calder was the Toshach of that Ilk, hence the property he held in the Parish of Urquhart was known—the name still exists—as Tir-an-Toshach, corrupted into Ferrintosh. Q.E.D.

CHAPTER III.

THAT on or about the year 1034 the Norsemen, after raiding—it is so believed-the East Coast of Scotland as far as Fife, carrying thence whatever admitted of being carried, or driven, and then returned to, and took armed possession of Ross, we take to be a matter not open to question, though of the manner in which this was done no record exists. There is, however, in their numerous place-names sufficient evidence to show that a great number became cultivators of the soil, while others, as will be seen, kept up their connection with the sea, by settling in the numerous towns and villages on the Moray, Inverness, and Cromarty Firths, where they, in inclement seasons, and when not engaged in distant expeditions, erected for themselves houses after the fashion of those in their native countries, with gables to the street, or highway, and leading to dark and crooked alleys; and where they also built boats and plied such sedentary occupations as they were acquainted with. None of those places of strength, the remains of which exist in the Province, can be ascribed to them; like the early Romans, they preferred iron-clad walls of living muscle to all other defences whatsoever, while, unlike that people, in the useful department of roadmaking the Norseman was simply nowhere. Accordingly, if we except a few notices in the Sagas and certain well-defined technical characteristics of the coast villagers, it is from such place-names as have survived the wear and tear of eight centuries that we arrive at the conclusion that for a full generation at least they dominated the fortunes of Ross, not as mere vulgar conquerors but, with trifling exceptions, as potent factors in its progress and civilization.

The Saga states that during his lifetime Jarl Thorfinn held no less than nine Earldoms (Maormoreships) in subjection, about equal to saying that he was virtually King of Scotland, and proving so much that it proves nothing at all. That he, on one occasion, raided a great part of it cannot be denied, but the line must be drawn there. Besides its intrinsic incredibility, it must be remembered that the able and valiant Macbeth reigned for years, and contemporaneously, first as Maormore of Moray, and afterwards all over what was then reckoned as Scotland, and no evidence exists of his having ever had difficulties with his cousin "across ferry," while he, of all men, was the least likely to play vassal to Thorfinn or anybody else.

The Jarl's authority must, therefore, be considered as limited to Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, and the Northern and Western Isles, a territory ample enough to justify his being termed the greatest of all the Jarls.

It is highly probable that immediately after the decisive conflict of Torfness, Thorfinn had resolved on exacting in the form of territory, sufficient compensation for the trouble to which he had been put in repelling the successive invasions of his dominions, and that, therefore, immediately on repassing "The Stockford into Ross," he proceeded to make his resolve good by settling his followers in the wide Province. In pursuance thereof he naturally made the Castle of the Maormores his principal residence, as not only the most convenient centre from which to conduct his government, but also from the fact that then, as now, it intersected the main lines of communication north, south, east and west. Being a Prince of excellent understanding, he would be contented with his recent acquisition, nor would he have lost sight of the circumstance that the Farrar, or Glass, often unfordable, and always dangerous, would meet every requirement of a frontier as between himself and his neighbour of Moray, the redoubtable Macbeth. abundant woods, fertile and comparatively sunny plains and straths of Ross would present irresistible attractions to the hyperborean Norsemen, nor is it at all necessary to cite Buchanan as an authority that their shipping would be immediately employed in conveying to their new homes the female relatives of the settlers.

Skene, with whom we have had already occasion to join issue, when referring to the favourable changes which he alleges were effected by a hypothetical Norwegian occupation of the Laich of Moray, goes on to say:—"In the more mountainous and Highland districts (Ross), however, we are warranted in concluding that the effects must have

been very different, and that a possession of thirty years would have exercised as little permanent influence on the people as we are assured by the Sagas it did upon the race of their chiefs." Wherein lay his "warrant" for coming to either conclusion? Confessedly, Moray afforded to the sea-going Norsemen a convenient battle and pillage ground, and while forcing its people to combine for their mutual protection, materially served to develop their manhood, but it is difficult to see in what other moral direction the Norwegians influenced the district in question. Ross, on the other hand, as we shall prove, became as truly their home as Caithness or Orkney, and comparisons favourable to the influence of marauding as distinguished from permanent residence, and what that must be held to imply, savour more of burlesque than sober history! At the same time we are willing to abandon to his judgments "the race of the chiefs," for, with a few honourable exceptions, not only those of Ross, but of the Highlands generally, were all along little better than highwaymen with a habit of affecting the airs of gentlemen, and who have been accorded by romancists a consideration out of all proportion to their characters as men.

And next, may we not ask, what warrant had he to limit the Norse influence to the thirty-seven years during which Jarl Thorfinn lived to direct it? Could he for a moment have supposed that on his decease, his ci-devant army, with such others of his people as he had encouraged to become settlers, with their children and grandchildren, and the good they had accumulated in fertile Ross, would return "en masse" to the treeless wastes of Caithness and Orkney? For one thing, why should they? Their interests would, of course, dispose them to remain, and that being so, what power, we may ask, then existed in Scotland equal to the task of expelling them? Remain they accordingly did, and when concluding otherwise Skene has clearly drawn upon his imagination.

Here the important question arises: What was the actual extent of this armed immigration? Obviously, whatever reply is given must be of the nature of an approximation, and even then arrived at by inference. Let us, however, make the attempt.

The strength of King Malcolm's army of invasion will have first to be settled, and when that is done we shall arrive at a probable estimate: of the opposing force, for a prudent commander like Thorsinn would be the last to take risks without a well-grounded hope, into which numbers would inevitably enter, of beating his grandfather.

Malcolm's army is always described as very large—that is, it comprised the most of his fighting subjects with, in addition, a contingent from Ireland. Judging from contemporary facts, and as national matters then stood, it could not have numbered much more, or much less than 14,000 men. Plainly, therefore, in view of his grandfather's uniform success as a general, and the reputation as fighters of both Scots and auxiliaries, Thorfinn could not think of trying conclusions, notwithstanding the goodness of his arms and the quality of his soldiers, with fewer than from eleven to twelve thousand men. Granting his loss at Torfness and during the raid to be a thousand combatants, he would thus return to Ross with well over ten thousand men, and though a few of these might elect to return to their old homes, their places would be filled by others, attracted to the new acquisition, and resolved to settle there. Then, finally, the wives, children and sweethearts will have to be added, so that at the lowest estimate the population of Ross would on this occasion be increased by 15,000 souls, an amount and quality of ethnical leven which forthwith made its presence to be felt, and has not failed to evidence its beneficent presence ever since.

Having pointed out the circumstances under which the Norsemen took possession of Ross, the more difficult question now arises: To what extent did their presence contribute towards building up its civilization? Here, again, we have chiefly to depend upon inferences, nor can any striking developments be indicated by way of having these inferences accentuated. Briefly, the basal facts from which we have to work are, the forceful character of the new comers; the circumstances which called that masterfulness into action; and the racial strain they were the means of introducing into the life of the people. With regard to the first two we are not at liberty to conclude that then their functions were analogous to what our countrymen are now performing with such excellent effect in Africa. The pure Celt—as we shall have occasion to point out later on-though labouring under serious deficiencies, in no sense resembled the Zulu, or Massai. The early British Church existed at that period as a mighty moral leverage, and the Celt was, therefore, in possession-more or less-of the Gospel and the potentialities which dominate the present and the future life, and, accordingly, occupied a plane different in kind from the semi-human African, or even the semi-civilized Hindoo. He was thus in a position to give more than an equivalent for whatever traits he was about to acquire at the hands of his new neighbours, whose Christianity was of the most rudimentary kind. It will be seen from the unimpeachable evidence of place-names, that these neighbours not only from the first dominated the whole Province, but by themselves and descendants remained sufficiently long in the ascendant to render these place-names permanent, though necessarily a considerable number of changes, incident to a period of 800 years has rendered many unrecognisable. present in such force as rendered attempts at resistance on the part of the Celtic population hopeless, the Norse organisation—at least while the great Jarl lived-would also effectually prevent dangerous combinations coming to a head. An attack even on outposts would be voted dangerous. Thus, if from the mountains of Strathconan a party of Celts would attempt the seizure of Scatvollr, signals, in a way to them unintelligible, would in a few hours bring a strong party from Gaddgadlae (Dingwall) and the raiders would have reason to feel thankful if they made their escape with whole skins. Here then was one of a series of object lessons which would not be lost upon our quick-witted forefathers, and it is our fixed belief that to this state of things the inception of the Clan system was due, and to which the mixed race became amenable during the subsequent century, while its subsequent barbarism was mainly due to the supersession by the Romish Church of the Culdee missionaries.

The Occupation, as a matter of course, involved the driving of the people from all the choice spots, but that the drivers did not obtain possession of the Black Isle gratis, the abundant tumuli of Resolis and the Sheriffdom of Cromarty—without doubt dating from this period—abundantly testify. Hostile feelings would, however, in due time subside. The Gael would come to see that the "Guile" was after all human, and not without good points of his own, and that no amount of reprisals would materially alter the new order of things. On the other hand, the Vikingr, since he had turned Bonder, would require assistance, for which he was willing to pay, and a sense of mutual necessities on the part of employer and employed would lead to peaceful

relations, and a permanent truce would be tacitly agreed to by both.

Then, the Bonder, who had neither wife nor sweetheart to send for, would find that he too needed a helpmate, and that while Caithness was far away, Ross and its ample resources in that line lay around him. Of course, facilities for exchanging ideas with its women-kind remained to the end in an untoward condition, for his uncouth Norse tongue would be unable to articulate the soft Gaelic vocables, but then, kind nature had devised a special volapuk for the purpose of overcoming this difficulty, and Bareserker and Celtic maiden would come to a satisfactory understanding. Mixed marriages, having passed the experimental stage, would soon become the rule, and a new race, neither Norse nor Celtic, but a distinct improvement upon both, would make its appearance, and which, after undergoing various changes of fortune, would finally exhibit such mental and moral characteristics as we see around us.

The advent of the Norsemen was opportune. In the matter of fighting talent, provided his arms were equally good, the individual Celt was quite a match for his Norse foeman, while, greatly more than that, he was his intellectual superior; but in such qualities as respect for women, docile obedience to his chosen leaders, staying power, and a knowledge of the practical arts, he was in a greater degree his inferior. And here, though a reference thereto may read like an anti-climax, the Norse immigrant was distinguished for his patient endurance of hard, continuous labour, an object lesson which the indigenous population at first felt to be unintelligible, but which, and by degrees, they fully mastered.

If the truth must be told, the Celt, in his native state, does not take kindly to the above condition of social well-being; nor does even the Lewisman, though with much Norse blood in his veins, through having been allowed to run wild under the rule of barbarous chiefs; yet, if caught young, he fully maintains his place in the ranks of industry. He greatly prefers spurts of exhausting labour, if these can be made to alternate with periods of shameful sloth. Thus, after returning from the herring fishery, he and his fellows will collect on a hillock near the hamlet, and too lazy even to converse, lie there for hours with his pipe in his mouth enjoying what is termed a "bolloc re grein" (sunning the belly!) while his sister,

mother, or wife accomplishes her destiny by carrying in a creel on her back the compost wherewithal to manure the croft. This particular exhibition of Celtic manhood may be witnessed on any fine day in the proper season, both in the Lewis and on the West Coast, and shameful though it appears to the "Machairich," it is there considered the proper order of things.

It is beyond question that prior to the Occupation, the habits of the people inhabiting the Machair were precisely similar to those indicated above, but the new ethnical leven and the arrangements it fostered induced such a change that ultimately outdoor work, except in harvest time, became the sole business of the man, that of the home and the dairy being permanently assigned to the woman, while the maxims and doctrines of the ancient British Church served to influence with the best effects the thoughts and habits of both native and stranger.

It would appear that except along the coast of the Black Isle, the new comers had in great measure to depend for wives on the daughters of the land, who, being familiar with but one language, would necessarily teach it to their children with the result that within a century the Norse speech had become practically absorbed in the prevailing Gaelic, its place-names—about to be referred to—alone remaining to show its former dominant position.

Various theories, which we will take the liberty of considering as read, have been formulated to account for the Scandinavian character of the people of the Black Isle—a place-name, by the way, never referred to in the Records. The distinctly Lowland "patois" spoken along its whole sea-board has also greatly puzzled the local philologist aware that since history began to be written no corresponding immigration took place—the settlement of a few Flemings in the days of the James's being obviously of no account. To these theories we shall add another, and endeavour to establish it by what we consider clear inferences from historical facts.

Pending proof to be presently advanced we shall consider the fact of the Occupation to have been established. In the apportionment of the land, the geographical character of the Peninsula as a district whereon to settle the exclusively seafaring portion of the new comers would be sufficiently obvious. Into it, accordingly, a strong division would pass, and, on resistance being offered, the extermination of its

natives would be resolved upon, nor is better proof of both facts possible than the numerous tumuli-occurring nowhere else in the Provincedotting the uplands of Resolis and Cromarty. The ferocious character of the new comers may thus be taken as proved. They would then take possession of the tenantless dwellings along the coast, send, as hinted by Buchanan, for their women-kind, and by continuing in isolated communities retain intact their previous habits, and national tongue, which latter in due time merged, as we see, into the cognate Saxon, still in use by their descendants. Piracy would thus continue their principal occupation, nor, it is to be feared, would the Great Jarl offer any serious objection, though after his death different views had to be taken. Then, as a matter of course, reprisals would follow; the gallows would become an established institution, but habits of successful rapine take a long time to eradicate, and it is doubtful whether they became extinct until the Province had established over it that efficient Land-Father, Farquhar, II. Earl of Ross. As we shall show later on, this particular district gave much trouble in the days of David II., while the reader familiar with subsequent history, will remember that in consequence of many and loud complaints, William the Lion conducted an armed expedition thither, and in order to cope effectually with the marrauders established two garrisons, one at Edderdover (Ormond), and the other at Dunscaith, thus indicating unmistakably that the peccant districts were Avoch and Cromarty. There being no recorded complaints from the inland districts we are warranted in concluding that there the condition of things continued normal and dull. So much for our theory and the supporting facts.

Dr Joseph Anderson in his Orkneyinga Saga, while not questioning the Norse Occupation of Ross, takes occasion to remark that south of the Dornoch Firth few, if any, evidences of its occurrence can be traced. In the light of what follows this will be seen to be an unwarranted conclusion, it being allowed on all hands that among an unlettered people the existence of place-names is the most conclusive evidence possible.

In enumerating what has survived of these, we shall begin with that puzzling misnomer, Black Isle. We say puzzling, for the term, apparently descriptive of the peninsula, has hitherto, so far as its derivation is concerned, defied every attempt at explanation. It may have been an island, but that was long before men existed to bear witness to the

fact; neither has it ever been a region of dense forests whose sombreness might have led to the adoption of the descriptive adjective. Indeed if the district was to be distinguished by a term into which the notion of colour entered, "yellow" would be far and away the most appropriate, its broom and gorse-covered ridge being from of old termed "A Mhoal buie" (The Yellow Ridge). When, and how, then, had this puzzling place-name its origin? Let us attempt an answer.

Every reader of Irish early history is aware that the pirates who so persistently ravaged that unhappy country were composed of two kindred nationalities, the milder, fair-skinned Norwegian, and the swarthy, fiercer Dane, the "Dubh Ghuile," or Black Daners, as they were termed by their victims. Though known as Danes they were mostly Saxons, that is, the descendants of those Saxons who had been driven into the islands of the Baltic, to escape the evangelising labours of Charlemagne. As became a Magistrate who had adopted the doctrine that the propagation of religion was his leading duty, his exhortations were commonly brief-baptism or massacre, and on one day, to his own and his clerical advisers astonishment, 5000 of these heathens whom they had penned up preferred the latter alternative. One result was that those who survived carried with them to the islands of the Baltic an undying hatred of everything, and every person identified with the prevailing supersti-For the manner in which they exercised it see Stoke's Histories. A further and inevitable result was that the Black Daner came to be recognised as the very impersonation of ruthless cruelty. Our theory is, that when the division of Ross among his followers took place, Thorsinn assigned the peninsula to his Danish contingent, and our previous remarks regarding the manner in which it was occupied will have gone to prepare the reader—to some extent at least—for its acceptance. Entirely dispossessed of it, as we believe the Celts to have been, it would, if this theory is correct, come to be known to them as "Tir 'n Dubh Ghuile" (the land of the Black Daners). Generations would pass away and hostile feelings with them; the tide of advancing English would submerge many terms applicable to a former condition of things; in particular, the Ardmeanach, that used in the Public Records, as only partially descriptive would be abandoned to the lawyers, an attempt would be made to give an English dress to one covering the whole peninsula; the Land of the Black Ghuile (pronounced yuile) would thus, in the most natural way, undergo abbreviation, and appear as the Black Isle, and the puzzle of centuries would thus be established. In the absence of any other derivation, good or bad, and the admittedly Scandisnavian character of the people, the above, the present writer is fain to think, should hold the field. If this is granted, a weighty instalment towards settling whether traces remain of the Norse Occupation south of the Dornoch Firth may be considered as paid in.

In this conection, and before proceeding to enumerate place-names distinctly Norse, it will be proper to refer to those of Celtic form, but which unmistakably indicate a previous Scandinavian owner. Thus, whatever names in which "Guile" or its variants occur, belong to this class. The type is Balnagaul, the Norseman's Town, and of these there are three in Urquhart, two in Alness, and one at least in each of the following parishes, Edderton, Tain, Knockbain, Urray, and Fodderty. The distinctly Norse place-names are as follows: -Beginning with the north-east corner of Ross, we have "Ness," in Tarbatness; Shandwick, "Sandbay"; Cadboll or "Cat-town"; Sutor, "Skuti," to jut out; "Siker-sund," Cromarty Bay; Braelangwell, "Langvollr," "Udal"; "Kinnook," Flowerburn; Culbo, "Calbollr"; "Fiendale," Findon; "Skavek," Lower Conon; "Skuitdale," Conon Village; Brahan; "Orrin" River; "Kiernook," Highfield; "Tarrudale," Tarradale; "Gargasoun," Gargeston; "Eskadale"; "Edderdale"; "Firbiorn," Fairburn; "Skatvollr," Scatwell; "Karnook," Carnoch; "Eskadale" again; "Skatrov," Scardroy; "Attadale"; "Talladale"; "Kerrisdale"; "Auchatesdale"; "Slat-a-dale"; "Inverasdale"; "Rokal," Rogie; "Skaik," glen; "Ulladale"; "Skiak," river; "Swordale"; "Ketwell," Ketvollr; "Strathrusdale"; "Alness"; "Obsdale"; "Ness," Invergordon; "Kindale," Kindeace; "Bindale"; "Tarrel"; "Arboll"; "Dibidale"; "Carbisdale"; "Braelangwell" again; "Schaufiord," in Kincardine; while there must have been many more altered beyond recognition during the succeeding 800 years.

We have reserved as a fitting close to this chapter the most characteristic name of all, that of the county town, the seat of the Norse Government and the residence of the Great Jarl.

With respect to its antiquity experts entertain no difference of opinion; it is allowed on all hands that its foundation dates from the

latter half of the ninth century (875), the occasion alone having been made the subject of controversy. Dr Joass, Golspie, confessedly no mean authority, alleges that both town and castle were founded by Thorsten the Red, King of Dublin, a personage whom we saw in a previous chapter to have formed an alliance with Sigurd, Jarl of Orkney, during which he had that little difficulty with the Maormore of Ross, Milbridge of the Buck-tooth.

To our mind this theory of the Doctor's is quite inadmissible—it cannot be made to quadrate with the facts. For one thing, the date he gives, 880, is far too close to their arrival in Caithness—a district they by no means acquired gratuiteusly—to permit of such an attack in force as would afford them that permanent settlement which the building of a town and castle would imply: the very situation of both, as we have endeavoured to show, should of itself suffice for its explosion. And then next, how is he to get over the unquestionable fact that down to 1022, many years after both Thorsten and Sigurd were in their graves, Maormore Finlaec held full possession of his residence and government? And it is in the last degree incredible that, considering the character of the new comers, they would have any employment from him as architect or builders. That they built houses after their characteristic manner is fully admitted, but that must have been one of the results of the occupation.

Regarding the general question of the Occupation of Ross by the Norsemen, the views of Mr A. Macbean, A.M., Inverness, acknowledged to be one of our best authorities, will be read with interest. He says:—
"The name of Dingwall is a standing proof of the full occupation of Ross by the Norse, for there the district Thing, the Norse County Council, was held. Dingwall stands for Thingvollr (meeting field or hill). It is a name found wherever the Norsemen settled. We have it in the Isle of Man—Tynwald, and in Zetland—Tingwall. The district which received its laws from Dingwall extended at least to the Beauly valley. There we meet with Eskadale more than once, and Eskadale ideally represents a Norse Eskidallr—Ashdale. In Strathconon there is an Eskdale mentioned in the sixteenth century. At Muir of Ord we have Taradale (Tarudal, 1240), and the Black Isle with Cromarty, presents us with two or three distinctly Norse names: Braelangwell, in Resolis (Braelangall, 1577), gives us the exceedingly common name of

Langwell, which has no such nonsensical force as Long-well, but is the Norse Longvollr, or Longfield; Culbo, older Culboll, is perhaps for Koldabol, Cold-town."—Trans. G. S. Vol. 19.

With the proceedings of the Thingvollr aforesaid, the Gael of the period could take no concern; the debates were conducted in a foreign tongue, and the "machoraty," of which he was one, had no votes until 1877. It cannot be shown that he was ever reduced to a condition of predial slavery—that peculiar institution never found its way across Kessock-but for all that he was until quite recent times a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, and was glad to do even these things for a mere living. But to the new lords of the soil, the Thing was the very symbol of freedom, and its meetings the two great events of the year. Doubtless, during his thirty-seven years reign, the Great Jarl frequently met his Faithful Commons in person, heard reports descriptive of the aggressions or submissions of the native population, listened with patience to that grumbling which has ever formed the safety-valve of free institutions, met it by concessions and promises, and was granted the "Scat," or supplies, which the exigencies of the situation demanded.

The historic hill itself is situated at the west end of Dingwall, and, we are sorry to say, has lately, to its great disfigurement, been in the hands of the Vandals; the profits arising from its use as a gravel pit outweighing every other consideration whatsoever. The platform on which, as on all similar erections, the Commons of those days stood while stating grievances and granting supplies, extended along its front for more than a hundred yards, by about thirty broad—much defaced, however, during quite recent times, while at the greater elevation there used to be the traces of the seats occupied by officials, and from which, possibly, they arose to explain the details of the Budget!

Here too, for all parts, was administered the prompt justice which the times demanded, and when, for most of the crimes then common, the gallows across the Peffery—"Cnoc-na-croich"—was the unvariable remedy. Beginning in the first year of the Occupation, and continuing as occasion demanded, the characteristic huts of the Celts would give place to the equally characteristic houses of the new burghers, and radiating from the main thorough-fare in a system of narrow, crooked, and gable-terminating lanes; an arrangement adopted—it is probable—

from the facilities it afforded for successfully meeting onfalls from the aborigines. Though, of late years, another fashion is being steadily adopted, there still remains a great number of examples to show that, like Kirkwall, Dingwall was for many centuries substantially a Norse town.

Nor are its environs without traces of that people being in full possession of the land. Ready access to and from the capital by people living in the Somerby and Ussie district being indispensable, and the boulder clay precipice which then extended from the Greenhill to Knock-Bain forbidding safe access, they cut athwart it that road by which the Town Park is approached, evidence for the fact being found in town charters, where it is called after them the Guile Road, or Road Guile. Then their occupancy of the excellent land extending from the Railway Station to the shore is still perpetuated by its name—Guie—evidently an abreviation of Guile.

Surely, with these accumulated evidences of the Norse Occupation of Ross before him, the next editor of the Orkneyinga Saga will carefully point out the shortcomings of his predecessor.

CHAPTER IV.

THE Sagas (or their editors) give various dates for the death of the Great Jarl, and they are also somewhat various as to the duration of his reign. One of these states that his rule extended seventy winters, carrying improbability on its face; another limits it to sixty-still obviously greater than it actually was. The probability is that he died in 1071-72, in his sixty-third year, having reigned forty-eight years, and during thirty-seven of these over Ross. He left two sons by his first wife, Paul and Erland, but from what is told us of their performances they seemed as unfit to succeed their masterful father as Richard Cromwell the equally masterful Protector. The Norse government of Ross, accordingly, came to an end similar to that of Puritanism in England, and not unlike Charles II. during that crisis, Malcolm Canmore would be similarly exercised. The Norsemen, though not exactly like sheep without a shepherd, must have felt like a stout ship's crew on the wide ocean after the only scientific navigator on board had Though chiefless, from their numbers and character, they existed as a power to be reckoned with and conciliated, and on no account to be driven to extremities by the incipient chieftains or anybody else. We are warranted in concluding that this was the view Malcolm Canmore took of the situation. The Castle would be taken possession of after a due interval by a prudent Seneschal, and in a not too ostentatious manner, perhaps, indeed, by Malcolm Canmore himself, nor would the presence of Ingiobiorg, Thorfinn's young widow, form any impediment, but quite the contrary. Her charms were celebrated; her condition called for sympathy and protection; and above all, it was necessary that her deceased husband's subjects (who all but worshipped her), should be won over to their now actual sovereign, and the conclusion arrived at was-Might not all points

be secured at one and the same time by her becoming his queen? There is no record of the duration of the wooing, there is no record, alas, of matters in which we are more interested, but the historical fact remains that she actually became his wife, and, before her early death, bore him a son, that unfortunate Prince Duncan, subsequently sent to England as a hostage, where he remained, and became the reputed ancestor of those Macwilliams who so pestered the reign of both William the Lion and Alexander II. There is no evidence to show that Ross proper resisted to any extent the establishment of the new regime; the only troublers of the period, as we have endeavoured to show, were the half-fishermen, half-buccaneers, of the east and north of the Black Isle. The means taken towards bringing them into law-abiding habits are the only scraps of historical fact which have come down to us of a period extending to well-nigh a century, a state of matters, however, in which Ross is by no means singular.

The first of these refers to the founding of the Bishopric of Ross, 1124-28, and the above-mentioned condition of the district was, it is probable, the reason why the See in question was planted on its eastern verge, rather than in the strategic centre of the Province. spiritual condition of the exemplary flock assigned to him called for the selection of a fighting Bishop, a type of functionary as evident during the middle ages as aesthetical divines are at presnt. The person chosen. by David for the difficult post was a Macbeth, and most historians are contented with pointing out that the name indicates unmistakably his Celtic nationality. To our mind it indicates a great deal more-Macbeth the Great left at least two sons, Cormac and Thorfinn, and both managed to retain their heads during the subsequent changes. Then, four of his grandsons held responsible positions during the reigna of David I.; these were MacThorfinn Macbeth, Macdowan Macbeth,. Macbeth of Liberton, and, we have no doubt whatsoever, the first Bishop of Ross. Notwithstanding that he represented the fatal supersession by the Romish system of the Ancient British Church, Bishop-Macbeth would be acceptable to that section of people formerly governed by his grandfather, and next, with the Norse population, through his connection by blood with the Great Jarl. At a period when the personal element formed the foundation of all power and influence: these considerations would greatly tend to his peaceable installation.

Racial and indurated habits are, however, proverbially difficult to eradicate, nor would it appear did the labours of Bishop Macbeth or his successor in the See of Ross tend perceptibly towards that desirable consummation. It is certain that during the latter years of the reign of good King David the Black-Islanders had become a chronic nuisance, and their district had arrived at a condition not unlike certain of our fever-ridden Colonies, to which objectionable gentlemen were sometimes sent, ostensibly as officers, but really to expend their equivocal energies and where, whether they lived or died, succeeded or failed, it did not much matter. These seem to have been the precise conditions under which the first and shadowy Earl of Ross made his advent there, and the incidents connected therewith call for brief narration.

The personage credited with the dubious character aforesaid is known in history as Malcolm Macheth. The date of his creation as Earl is variously given as 1156 and 1160, but then it has to be noted there were two creations; the first of a make-believe character, subsequent to which, however, he witnessed a royal charter; the next real, and which led to important consequences. His character may be summed up in a sentence; he constituted one of the public pests of the reigns both of David and Malcolm the Maiden.

He first attracted notice in the Cistercian Monastery of Furness, where he was known as Brother Wymundus. Of ardent temper, possessed of a retentive memory and some eloquence he made such progress in monastic sanctity that the highest expectations were formed of him. In 1134, Olave, King of Man, granted certain lands in that island wherewith to endow a monastery in Russin, and, among other brethren Wymundus was sent to man the concern. Here he so impressed the unsophisticated natives with his sweetness of address and openness of countenance that they made solicitations in the proper quarter to have him as their Bishop. Olave, accordingly, applied to Thurstan, Archbishop of York, by whom he was duly consecrated. Immediately on obtaining this position he announced himself to be the son of Angus, Earl of Moray, slain in 1130, and that he had been deprived of his inheritance by his grandfather, the King of Scotland. There being then in existence, as has been frequently since, a floating vagabond population ready to follow any leader who promised pay and plunder, he speedily collected an imposing force, which took oath to

him under his assumed name of Malcolm Macheth, and forthwith made a progress through the Western Isles. There his pretensions were recognised as genuine by their Norwegian governor, and by Somerled, Regulus of Argyle, who bestowed his sister upon him in marriage. Here, too, he was reinforced by many other adventurers whom he had impressed by his distinguished personal appearance. His next step was an invasion of the Western Provinces of Scotland, which he wasted and plundered in the most approved manner. He succeeded for a time in evading the royal army, and when pressed retreated to the hills or the sea. At length the king, having obtained the aid of the Normans, took him prisoner, and his clerical character protecting him from instant decapitation, he was sent prisoner to Roxburgh Castle. Macheth, however, had friends in a position to give trouble to the Government on his account, and as a result of a Civil War which lasted three years Malcolm the Maiden, who had succeeded his grandfather, David, had to come to terms. Macheth was accordingly liberated, raised to the full dignity of Earl of Ross, and sent thither to be out of harm's way, and to give what support he could to its militant bishop. William of Newbury describes for us his achievements among and his fate at the hands of "Surrounded by his guard like a the buccaneers of the Black Isle. king proceeding through a conquered province, his insolence induced the people to lay a snare for him. Obtaining a favourable opportunity, they took, bound him, deprived him of both his eyes, and otherwise mutilated him. Afterwards he quietly lived with us at Byland until he died." There he is reported to have said that if "he had only the eye of a sparrow his enemies would have little occasion to rejoice at the evil they had done him."

Malcolm was succeeded in 1165 by his brother, William the Lion, who, during his troubled reign, was obliged to march into the turbulent Province of Moray, where an insurrection headed by those Macwilliams, of whom we have previously spoken, had broken out. Suffering defeat, they escaped by the "Stockfoord into Ross," and in this way disappeared for a time. Having come so near the lawless district aforesaid William also crossed thither, and marched down the peninsula with the view of reducing it to some semblance of order, but the steps he took being already described they do not call for recapitulation. William died in 1214, and was succeeded by his son, Alexander II., but before referring

to a second insurrection in Moray, led, as before, by the irrepressible Macwilliams, which the king had to march northward to suppress and which led to the creation of the "bona fide" Earldom of Ross, it will be expedient first to give a few paragraphs descriptive of the conditions under which the people of the Province engaged in the struggle for existence.

Briefly, and to begin at the beginning, domestic comforts—as we understand the term nowadays-were few, and the social amenities which our present paupers enjoy could not be said to exist. The residences of those who might be termed the middle class were chiefly built with an eve to defence, were of such a character that our prison cells in comparison would be deemed palatial, while lower down in the social scale, and apart from the stone houses of the well-to-do Norwegians and their descendants, chiefly found in the rudimentary towns, the dwellings were in most part similar to those in which we now house swine. All classes then ate that they might live, the notion of living that they might eat originated in quite modern times, and in consequence the mark of a mature civilization-scientific cookery-was then as unimagined as the telegraph or the telephone. We are not, however, aware that in the foundation virtues of brotherly kindness and selfsacrifice they showed any marked shortcomings from current practice. Agriculture was, on the whole, in a backward condition, and, since there were no manufactures to speak of, the produce of the soil constituted the sole marketable wealth of the country, and was consumed there. glancing at the Rent Roll of the Earldom given in the Appendix, it will be seen that a good deal of corn, bere and barley was produced, and much cattle, sheep and poultry raised, but there is evidence to show, that on the whole, though the men in power lived riotously, the mass of the people were badly fed, for unlike the masses of the present day they had wholly to depend-with the drawback of an uncertain climate -on home produce, and in consequence, and not unfrequently, endured the pinch of famine, which when superinduced on utter ignorance of the laws of sanitation rendered black-deaths and other horrors endemic.

Among the "improvements" introduced by "Good Queen Margaret" and her Saxon Court predial slavery occupied a conspicuous place. Of the previous relations existing between the nobles and the masses we know nothing, but from her advent and onwards till the

seventeenth century, the latter were considered as mere chattels, and were, without scruple, bought, sold, or gifted with the lands they tilled. With its noble Saxon immigrants the system came into full operation in Moray, but it cannot be said that it ever existed in Ross, nor is the reason far to seek. The Norseman there in possession, unlike his congener the Norman, would as soon become a slave himself as countenance the practice, and there the Saxon never obtained a foothold.

Like the poor the Land Question is always with us, and the conditions under which the land was then held merit a brief notice. few years ago it was the fashion to preach the doctrine that in the good, old (dateless!) times, the land was held by its cultivator "gratis, free and for nothing." As every one who had taken the trouble to ascertain the facts was aware, the preaching in question was that of congested ignorance to greedy credulity. The land was ever held of, and in one form or another paid for to, the Power in possession, whether Magrmore, Jarl, or King, nor, strange to say, were the conditions a whit easier one thousand years ago than they are now. Good arable land was the most coveted of all possessions. Though rough pasturage might be considered a negligible quantity, farms and crofts were rigorously defined, and the rents, with the royal dues in addition, were exacted in a manner which would move the admiration of a modern factor. The sizes of holdings were known as the oxgang, the ploughgate (eight oxgangs), and the dayoch (four ploughgates). The Norsemen introduced a different nomenclature, and reckoned from the amount of "scat," or public taxes, payable in addition to rent. Thus, though the dayoch might have been recognised as a use and wont term, its legal equivalent with them was Ounce Land, the ounce of silver divided into sixteen pence, or thirty-two half-pence, determining proportionally the value of the respective farms or crofts—hence such terms in the old Records as penny and half-penny lands, so puzzling to modern readers of old family annals.

Land-grabbers were then by no means rare, but there were no big capitalists to add farm to farm until one individual held what would maintain in comfort a dozen families. The davoch constituted the maximum holding, and what it consisted of may be seen at the present day from the Strathpeffer road, about a mile westward from Dingwall, where four of these lie contiguous—Davochcarte, Davochcarn, Davochpollo, and Davochmaluac, and though as farms they would now be

considered of very modest proportions, each of them for ages maintained in comfort a fine old-crusted county family.

There then existed a number of customs long since fallen into disuetude which, with the view of filling in a picture of the social institutions of the period, merit at least a passing notice. Among these Fosterage held a leading place. It is definable as the habit of sending out to families, one or more degrees lower in the social scale, children of both sexes, to be nursed, reared, and educated, and on their reaching the age of pullerty to be restored to their parents' homes, accompanied with a parting gift. The recognised equivalent for this service was, first, mutual good offices on the part of both families, and, next, the foster child was held morally bound to maintain his foster parents in sickness and old age as he would those to whom he owed his being. But there underlay all this what was deemed immeasurably more important—the feelings of mutual love which were found in practice to arise out of this arrangement. It was observed that parents and children, brothers and sisters, frequently fell out, and even became mortal enemies; but such a thing as a mortal feud, or even a chill, between the foster child and any of the family in which he had been brought up, was never as much as heard of; the tie was found stronger than blood, stronger even than death. Hence its long continuance among both Celts and Norse; and here it will be remembered that Jarl Thorsinn was himself a nursling of the valiant Thorkel, who on ali occasion acted as his other self.

With respect to rough out-door amusements, those of our semi-barbarous ancestors were identical with those now practised. Leaping, running, wrestling, putting the stone, throwing the hammer, and tossing the caber, from their manifest tendency to develop and harden the muscles, were in high favour, and it is even probable that "shelty" races, though generally voted frivolous would have their warm admirers. There is also evidence to show that performances on a rude species of harp, its peculiar scale still to be traced in many of our melodies, with story-telling, constituted the main resource among the more "cultured" class for whiling away the long winter evenings.

It will be a surprise to many that the bag-pipe, now so characteristically Highland, was in rude form a comparatively recent importation from England, for, during the wars of the Interregnum and long after,

it was unknown. At that period each combatant carried a trumpet fashioned out of those tremendous horns with which the heads of Highland cattle are adorned, and the blowing of which in concert must have been well-nigh as dreadful as the charge of the army itself in line. On the introduction of the bagpipe, however, it so clearly met a long-felt want that the Gael "froze" to it at once, added many improvements until it became the shrill and savage, but at the same time the most effective military instrument in the world. The Norseman, on the other hand possessed, so far as we know, no other field music than that which his sonorous trumpet afforded. It consisted of a long, wide, bent copper tube, partly encircling the body of the performer, was identical in pitch with the existing tenor trombone, and by its open notes produced such military signals as were required.

Among the peculiar, though not perhaps frequently practised, social customs of those days was that known as Handfasting; describable as an arrangement by which a young man and young woman, with the consent of their respective parents, agreed to live together for a year or more before the fateful knot was tied, the distinct understanding being that whatever children were born of this union were to be held quite as legitimate as those born in actual wedlock. If the parties then found themselves to be equally yoked, the priest or parson was called in and gave his blessing, but if the lady showed incompatibility of temper she was returned to her father, who then demanded and received, according to his rank, a fine, termed the Mulierum Merchata, ostensibly for the loss of her services, but really for other sufficient reasons. Obviously, to this custom must be traced certain merciful characteristics of our Scottish marriage laws.

On the subject of the Morals of the Ross under review, while we have no information to offer, it may be permissible to make a few inferences. The sapling—it will be allowed—is the parent of the oak, in a sense similar to that in which the boy is father to the man: storm and sunshine in the one case, and storms and amenities of life in the other, may be credited with certain superficialities; but both have developed according to fixed principles, and so became in the one instance the monarch of the forest, and in the other the moral failure, or success, he was from the beginning. It is, we submit, according to the fitness of things to estimate, a posteriori, the quality of pre-historic morality in

Ross from the above point of view as supplemented by the fact that it is now, as it has long been, the most law-abiding district in the kingdom. Silk purses are not manufactured out of the ears of swine, and the Ross of to-day would not be what it is if the Ross of eight hundred years ago bore any moral resemblance to the Italy of that period.

With respect to the state of Religion, previous to the introduction of Queen Margaret's innovations, the information to hand from the researches of Stokes, Maclauchlan, and others, is both full and authentic. As a result the Culdees, the most self-denying and zealous of missionaries, though not untinctured with the superstitions of the age, stand out before us in full relief; and such faith, and patience, and prayer as they for centuries exercised must have had the happiest effects on a people who, though rude and warlike, never so much as heard of Philosophy, or of the "oppositions" of Science. The Culdee was a monk, though why a minister who was not necessarily a celebate, and who might own property, should be so termed is not easy to see. He was under subjection to neither Bishop nor Presbytery, and such rule as then was-that of love-was usually borne by a deeply-exercised brother, whom he recognised as his abbot. The Culdee copied and expounded the Scriptures, taught such as had inclinations that way to read and write, nor did he think it beneath him to cultivate his own croft, if by so doing he might set a needful object lesson before his flock. He also saw to, or actually assisted in, the erection of places of worship, though he himself continued to live in one of the "daub-andwattle" tenements which formed the township. "Church" of that period could not be considered a desirable profession for the younger sons of "the best families"!

With respect to their principle of not leaving any corner of the land unoccupied, Dr Maclauchlan says:—"The country was covered with their places of worship, the remains of which exist, extending to the furthest distant of the Hebrides. These, as the ruins testify, were of the Culdee period, and show how all-pervading the influence of that Church was; and recently specimens of their Hymnology of the twelfth century have been brought to light (Dean of Lismore's Book: Poem by Muireadhach Albanach), showing how thoroughly the country was influenced by religious truth. We do not mean to aver that the influence of the Romish system had not been felt down from the eighth century,

but till this period that influence had met with a large measure of resistance. In Queen Margaret's own case the resistance seems to have been resolute and tenacious. It is not denied that at the commencement of the eleventh century corruptions existed in the Culdee Church, or that the hand of a reformer was unnecessary, but it is denied that corruption existed to the extent which writers at a later period have maintained. The Culdee Church had pervaded Scotland with the knowledge of the Gospel, had filled the country with places of worship, and had raised Scotland to a place of no little eminence among the nations. One of the kings under that system was called the Lord and Father of the West, and one of her ministers was called the glory of the Gaelic clergy. The organization of that Church was, no doubt, peculiar, consisting mainly of great central institutions, or colleges (monasteries, as they have been called, though it is hard to conceive what little men with wives and families, and holding property of their own, had to be called monks), with oratories, or places of worship, scattered over the country. Towards the close of the eleventh century the State and the Church were undergoing a process of rapid transition, the one to feudalism and the other to Romanism, in both instances providing for that tremendous revulsion which a few centuries brought about."

With the view of supplying from our personal knowledge illustrations of the fact indicated in the opening sentence of the foregoing extract, we shall ask the reader to accompany us on a tour through Central Ross, beginning at Bron, the ruin of a Culdee station situated on the small peninsula on the left bank of the Conon, and near to Brahan Castle, afterwards the church of a parish bearing that name. Next, and about a mile lower down on the right bank, we arrive at Logie Wester, the ancient name of which is unknown. Next, and about a mile further to the east we arrive at Kilduinne, on the farm of Humberston, its remains being extant well into the present century. Next, about a mile and a-half to the east stands the county town of Ross, known to the country as Dingwall, to the Recorder of the Papal Chancery as Ineurfuaran, but to the Culdee Church, until it was suppressed, as Killechlemaun, or the Kille of Clement. Next, at about a mile to the north-east we meet with Killechoan, next, the Kille of Clyne. Next, and close to the shore, that of Lemlair, said to be the first place in Ross where, after

its four hundred years obscuration, the doctrine of Justification by Faith was preached. We next arrive at Killetiarnan (Kiltearn Church), and somewhere not far away that of St Monans. There is next Alness, then Killenianan, or Nonakiln, and lastly Obsdale, or Rosskeen. Thus, within little more than fourteen miles there existed no less than twelve Culdee stations or chapels; and to these may be added, and within five miles of Dingwall, at least two others, Inchrorie, or Fodderty, and Killettash (Kinnettas). Nor was the Black Isle a whit less favoured. From Killechroist down to Cromarty they occurred at intervals of but a few miles apart, while Hugh Miller has pointed out that in the latter parish there were four or five.

It will thus be seen that so far at least as the eastern side of Ross was concerned, Dr Maclauchlan was quite within the truth when he wrote "the country was covered with places of (Culdee) worship," evidencing a degree in religious activity which we in those Laodicean days find it difficult to realise.

CHAPTER V.

THE circumstances now to be narrated, under which the historic Earldom of Ross arose, culminated and sank, and around which much else centred, will carry our History well past the middle of the fifteenth century.

William the Lion, as we saw, died in 1224, and was succeeded by his son, Alexander II., then a youth in years but a man in wisdom and prudence—a fortunate circumstance, for, at the period of his accession, no former king stood in greater need of both. Like his predecessors, he had not only to contend from the outset with that chronic peril, a turbulent nobility, but during the following year he had to encounter a rebellion in Moray, led by such public enemies as Donald Bain Macwilliam, Kenneth Macheth (son or grandson of our old acquaintance), and a petty Irish kinglet whose name is not given. At the head of certain followers they had-probably from the Lochaber side-burst into Moray, were joined by many partizans of the former dynasty, and occasioned the young king much anxiety. His loyal vassals assembled around his standard as he marched north-ward, though, it would appear, in insufficient numbers to crush the movement, but while the issue of the campaign hung in the balance Farquhar Macintagart (son of the Priest), a young chieftain from Ross appeared upon the scene at the head of an ample following, and from that moment the cause of the king assumed a different aspect; the head of the leaders were in due time laid at his feet, while soon thereafter the entire Province was reduced to obedience. For these important services, Farquhar was knighted on the field of battle and after a brief interval created Earl of Ross, and endowed with lands corresponding to the dignity.

The question here arises: Who was this Farquhar Macintagart, and how did he become the leader of such an efficient following? Answers

to these questions will perforce lead us back to that night of things which preceded the oft referred to Occupation, and through which we will have to grope our way as best we can.

We read in the life of Columba, that after making a successful visit to the Pictish kinglet, somewhere in the vicinity of Inverness, he sailed down the firth, landed on the coast of Ross-at Portmahomack, it is believed-established there one of his colleges, from which the Gospel was propagated over the whole Machair. About the same time one of his missionaries, named Maelrubba, landed at Appurcrossan (since corrupted into "Applecross"), established a similar institution there, from whence the same beneficent light radiated over the whole western shore and Islands. But what most concerns us here is, that in the course of the six following centuries this monastery became possessed, no one can tell how, of an immense estate, extending from Gairloch to Lochalsh, both inclusive, with the usual results—the utter spiritual decadence of its functionaries through sloth, formality, and high-feeding, till finally, matters having become ripe, the estates were sequestrated and erected, when or by whom is unknown, into a lay barony of colossal size. At that period titles of honour were just coming into use, that of Abbot being of high degree was accordingly retained by the Baron of Appurcrossan, indeed he may have been in the habit of performing certain ornamental clerical functions, for ecclesiastical matters were at that period in the transition stage, the Ancient British Church being about to succumb to the Romish system. It was certainly borne by Farquhar, previous to his elevation to the peerage, for he transmitted it with most of the monastic property to his second son, variously termed the Red, or Green Abbot-the ancestor in the female line of the Macdonalds of Lochalsh.

It has been said that on his elevation to the Earldom Farquhar was endowed with an estate corresponding to the dignity; what then was its nature and extent? From the first much of it was possessed in the form of real estate, yielding yearly rents in money and kind, but subsequently the greater part consisted of superiorities, for which a fine was exacted from every successor, singular or otherwise, and, subordinate to the royal authority, these in every case carried with them absolute vassalage. There is a further difficulty in defining the extent of the Earldom; it was constatly receiving important accretions, until at length

it embraced not only all Ross, Skye and the Lewis, but much of Moray as well. In this latter way only, it would appear, did Earl Farquhar retain authority over his ancestral property; that of Lochalsh and Lochcarron remained in the hands of his descendants after the forfeiture had taken place; that of Gairloch and Torridon frequently changed hands before and after.

It would appear that on its erection the Earldom extended from the Aultgraat, near Evanton, to the Dornoch Firth, and far into the interior, with probably the greater part of the Black Isle; its principal messuages being the castles of Delney, Lochslin, Balloan, and Ormond. also held later on five Granges or Mains, which they farmed for themselves. Farquhar, as we shall see, held and transmitted to his descendants various estates in Galloway, while his successors became Superiors of the lands of Auchterless and King Edward, in Aberdeenshire; those of Inneurmerky in Badenoch; those of Glens Morriston and Urquhart, with the Castle of the latter; Balmakyth, Boath, Banchre, Rate, Knowdie, Kinsteary, Kilravoch, Easter Geddes, Dumnaglass, and Cawdor, in the Province of Moray. As will be seen from the Appendix, and notwithstanding the depletion it had undergone at the Forfeiture, the Rent Roll of the Earldom in the days of James VI. still exhibited splendid proportions. With the exception of one or two existing estates—Fowlis, for example—it still included all the cultivated lands, ferries, and mills, of the whole Machair of Ross, and also extended well into the adjacent straths and glens.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that it formed one of the most coveted dignities in the whole kingdom; was from an early period in the hands of members of the Royal Family, and ultimately and permanently became incorporated with the Crown.

If confusion is to be avoided when giving the story of the Earldom a certain order will have to be maintained from the beginning. It will be remembered that there existed for a brief period, three-quarters of a century previously, a shadowy holder of the title, but, since the breath of a king is all that is required for the creation of a belted knight or feudal nobleman, we will have to begin our list with

MALCOLM MACHETH, FIRST EARL OF ROSS.

The achievements of this personage having already been sufficiently

recounted they do not call for recapitulation.* We, therefore, pass on to what has survived the intervening centuries of the record made by

FARQUHAR MACINTAGART, SECOND EARL OF ROSS.

This energetic individual duly entered on possession of his Earldom, proved himself not only a Land Father of great ability, but continued to the end the confidential and valued counsellor of his sovereign. His fighting talent being of approved quality, and insurrections abnormally rife, it was frequently called into exercise by the king, and, indeed, on one trying occasion, he was instrumental in saving both monarch and national army from annihilation.

Owing, it is believed, to its mixed population of Brethons and Norse virates, Galloway for generations gave no end of trouble to successive Scottish monarchs. In 1235, however, matters had become unendurable, and Alexander, at the head of what was deemed a sufficient force, marched against them. From unexplained reasons, Earl Farquhar and his people arrived late, found the king had been inveigled into a trap similar to that which further on we will have to describe when dealing with the battle of the Pairc, when the Earl, having promptly altered his line of march, assailed the Gallowegians in the rear and converted what would have been a national disaster into an important victory. insurgent leaders appeared soon after before the king with ropes round their necks in token of complete submission, and were frankly forgiven by the politic monarch. As a material reward for this service Farquhar received a grant of land in that Province, which remained in the possession of his descendants for more than 150 years. Earl Farquhar's daughter, Christina, having become the wife of Olave, King of Man, he became also involved in the politics of that Island. Olave's succession, it appears, was disputed, and called for settlement in the usual manner, but with the assistance of his war-like father-in-law this was done, and remained undisturbed, until the Battle of Largs was fought and lost.

As became a son of the Church, in an especial sense, Earl Farquhar was duly influenced by the religious notions of the times. At that period the erection and endowment of monasteries was, by those who

^{*}Following Macheth there was a still more shadowy Earl, the Count of Holland, married to Malcolm the Maiden's sister, but his installation was never completed.

professed to know, declared to be the duty most acceptable to heaven, and since in practice the matter was found much easier of accomplishment than repentance and reformation, and held to be equally efficacious, the building and endowing of Abbeys became extremely fashionable. Earl Farquhar resolved on following the fashion. 1230, he founded an Abbey in Edderton, and was examplary in the matter of endowment, but he seems to have entrusted the building to one of the scamping contractors of those days, for during the life of his great grandson, it began to show symptoms of decay, had to be pulled down and erected in 1338 upon another site, in Fearn, and hence became known by that name. If we are to believe Hector Boece—not always possible—the procuring cause of this act of piety was as follows. Two years previously the Earl had accompanied his sovereign during a visit to the English Court, and there challenged, or was challenged, to a combat a l'outrance by a renowned French champion there on a professional visit; but previous to entering the lists Farquhar vowed that if by the favour of heaven he emerged victorious he would found a religious house in his Earldom. He overcame as a matter of course, for when in those days was piety of this practical sort ever put to shame? Having placed his antagonist beyond the possibility of repair, the Earl duly fulfilled his vow. his way home he called at the Abbey of Whithorn, made arrangement with the authorities there that as soon as a portion of the contemplated buildings was completed they would forward by way of foundation functionaries one Malcolm to fill the post of Abbot, another brother to act as his assessor, while both were to act as custodiers of those relics-in this case said to be those of St Ninian-which were to give an odour of sanctity to the new establishment.

Earl Farquhar is credited by the Clan and other annalists with quite a number of achievements of the Munchausen order which, however, for obvious reasons, we shall consider as read—and disposed of.

As a leading peer Earl Farquhar, in 1237, and in presence of Odo, Papal Legate, witnessed an agreement between the kings of England and Scotland; in 1244 he was one of the noblemen commissioned to inform the Pope that a treaty of peace had been concluded with England. He died in 1251, in his Castle of Delney, and was buried

in the Abbey of Fearn, the effigy of a warrior cut in a tombstone being supposed to mark his grave. Some authorities affirm that he left two sons and two daughters, William, his successor, and Malcolm, the Green or Red Abbot, previously referred to. Others, with more probability, hold that he was succeeded by his grandson, also William, and probably the son of the former.

WILLIAM, THIRD EARL OF ROSS.

This nobleman was as energetic a person as his predecessor. He was also the first of the family who became connected with the royal house, a precedent frequently followed ere the Line became extinct. About the period of his accession, the Scottish kings were beginning to display an eagerness to add the Western Isles, then subject to the Crown of Norway, to their other possessions. Negotiations were accordingly set on foot, but became so protracted, fruitless and vexatious that the king (Alexander II.), resolved upon using force, but before preparations had been advanced sufficiently, he died. His general policy was, however, adopted by his son, Alexander III., but that monarch, before resorting to extreme measures, made another attempt at negotiation, was again foiled, while in consequence much angry feeling was induced in both parties. Even then, Alexander III. felt reluctant towards proceeding to extremities, but having the Earl of Ross, a most competent agent, in the immediate vicinity of the coveted subjects, he resolved as a preliminary to put in pratice a favourite expedient of kings-that of sapping the hostile authority by internal conspiracies, alternately with armed inroads (unauthorised, of course!) and with the view of showing that Haco was incapable of protecting his distant subjects. Thus, the Islands were fast becoming so many medieval Cubas, and like it, in the interests of humanity, calling for neighbourly interference. In consequence of these proceedings Haco, in 1262, bitterly complained to his Scottish brother that the Earl of Ross, Kiarnach, the son of Maccamal, and other chiefs at the head of loose men from the Mainland, were in the habit of ravaging his territories in a frightful manner, but these things being strictly according to schedule there was, of course, no reply.

As was natural, Haco became infuriated and, with the concurrence of his Island Chiefs, and under a promise of assistance from the king of Man, he resolved upon invading, not the barren hills of South-west Ross, but the south of Scotland itself, appointing as rendezvous for his immense flotilla, Kyle Strait, between Ross and Skye, which has since been known as Kyle-Haco, or Kyleachin. From there he sailed to Largs, where his army met with a complete defeat from a Scottish force. He retired to the Orkneys, where he soon after died of fatigue and vexation. Negotiations were next resumed with Magnus, Haco's successor, and proved successful. The whole Western Isles, from the Butt of Lewis to Man, for money down and an annual payment, were annexed in perpetuity to the Scottish Crown. For his services on this national occasion the Earl of Ross was named Lord, or Vice-Roy, of Skye and the Lewis, and was further rewarded with the hand of Jane, daughter of the Earl of Buchan, and niece of the King. Thus, and for the first time, the Lewis became identified with Ross proper, a connection, which for better rather than worse, has subsisted for more than six hundred and thirty years.

In addition to other difficulties, personal and national, the Earl found that with respect to a large district on the West Coast, his vassals there had imbibed peculiar notions of fealty to their legal Superior. Whether the green hills of Kintail were his by right, or by the might of the strongest, it is now hard to say, but clearly he considered them as forming an integral portion of his Earldom, and the provoking thing was that one Kenneth (the eponymus of the rugging and riving Clan Mackenzie), was previously there, in actual possession of Ellandonan Castle, and, on certain fast and loose terms, insisted on so remaining. It may be fairly doubted whether Kenneth ever so much as heard of the Charter of Colin Hybernus, alias Fitzgerald; but like many of his descendants, he was a man of resource, knew the value of land and, better still, had a good sword of his own and was supported by a number of "pretty men," relatives and retainers.

The Earl having vainly tried negotiations, resolved upon trying the sword, but it would appear in an uneffectual sort of way, for when attempting to surprise the Castle of Ellandonan he was repulsed with loss. He forthwith collected an overwhelming force, but when about to march was called south to engage in and repel an English inroad, and on returning home he died at Earls-Allane, in May, 1247, and was buried in Fearn Abbey. By this success our friend Kenneth contrived

to add a halo of prescription to whatever previous title he had to the "Cradle of the Mackenzies." It is nowhere stated where, or when

WILLIAM, FOURTH EARL OF ROSS,

was born. The date, from his being of age sufficient to acknowledge the rights of the Maid of Norway, must have been about 1260. The period called for heroic characters, but nature had endowed the Earl with little or nothing heroic. He, indeed, fought at the head of his vassals at the decisive Battle of Bannockburn, a most redeeming circumstance, but his previous record was at best devious, not to say disgraceful.

As everybody knows, the death of the Maid of Norway led to the Interregnum, and when called in to adjudicate between the rival claims of John Baliol and Robert the Bruce, Edward Longshanks thought the opportunity of annexing the northern kingdom to his own too good to be neglected. Edward was, however, too astute to do so by a formal He first dubiated, then affected to consider the claims of the former to be superior, but from the first, and to make sure of his prey, overran Scotland with his troops, taking especial care to garrison its places of strength. Thus, whether before then or not, in 1291 we find them manning the Castles of Inverness and Dingwall, both at that period royal fortresses exclusively, and commanded by a Sir William Braytoft, nominally responsible to Baliol, but really so to King Edward alone. There is still extant in the State Paper Office a document of this period, whereby Baliol took the oath of fealty to Edward, and to which Earl William had affixed his seal as witness, proving among other things that he had previously done the same himself.

Confessedly, at that period in Scotland, matters political were in a chaotic condition, the English invasion rendering it difficult for the wisest patriot so to shape his course as to preserve his head and his lands. Up till 1296 Earl William does not appear to have experienced any difficulty whatsoever. He had made timely submission, and did exactly as he was directed. By Baliol's command he led with success a strong force towards the Hebrides, the Chiefs there having become restive under the new order of things, and spent £50 sterling out of his own pocket in its equipment. For this important service Baliol promised him the lands of Ferrincroscy (the greater part of the modern

parish of Croic), the Castle of Dingwall as a residence, together with the several farms set apart for the maintenance of its garrison; but the ignominious reign had terminated before possession could be had; and the Earl, whose ruling passion was the enlargement of his family possessions, felt extremely hurt.

But in the above year the dastardly treachery known to history as "The Barns of Ayr" was perpetrated, and the country was inflamed to The story is brief, and may be referred to here. Scottish nobility having in various ways shown themselves inimical to English interests, it occurred to the Governor of that place that their wholesale extermination would meet the approval of Edward. They were accordingly invited to a friendly conference, and on a number obeying they were instantly put to death by hanging. This was too much for the remainder; an armed expedition to England was resolved upon, headed by the Earls of Ross, Menteith, and Athole. It was, however, badly planned, and as badly executed, its only success being a temporary occupation of the Castle of Dunbar. Edward, as usual, proved himself a consummate general; met them on the high ground in the vicinity of that place, where they were defeated with the loss, it is said, of 10,000 men. Next day the Castle surrendered at discretion, the Earl of Ross was taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower, where sixpence a day was allowed for his maintenance.

In the circumstances his Countess proved herself a most devoted helpmate. With the view of conciliating the king she gave efficient succour in the form of provisions to several of his detached garrisons, notably that of Castle Urquhart—as we read in Mackay's excellent history; and, though her motive must have been from the first apparent, Edward was in fact conciliated. Instead of his being led to a traitor's doom her husband was preserved to her. Not, however, until 1203 did his liberation take place, while during his journey to Scotland he was as strictly guarded as when in the Tower. The journey—as the diary of his custodiers, still extant, shows—occupied eighteen days, the expenses amounting to eleven shillings per diem. (See Reid's "Earls of Ross.")

Edward saw that the lesson was not lost upon the Earl, found that he was a person to be trusted, and soon after appointed him to the responsible position of Warder of the countries north of the Spey.

Emboldened by their improved relations, the Earl ventured to

approach the king with respect to the Ferrincroscy and Dingwall Castle arrangement, but, as will be seen, met with a rebuff. From the Exchequer Rolls, 1304, we learn that in his memorial he pointed out that the promised reward was in no sense a gift, nor for making war "on the king that now is," but for service done to the common cause at the risk of life and limb. The missive is thus endorsed on the back—"the king will make due enquiries." Ultimately the Earl got the subjects, but not from "the king that now is."

Two years later Bruce began the War of Independence, but for the next four years Earl William remained faithful to the cause of the usurper, though he does not appear to have done much serious fighting. He however did what his countrymen considered far worse, for it would appear that of his own volition he violated the Sanctuary of St Duthoch, Bruce's queen and daughter, accompanied by several ladies and a number of knights, having taken refuge there after escaping from Kildrummie Castle. The Earl delivered them up to the usurper's dastardly vengeance, who kept them in rigorous confinement for many years, the Earl himself slaughtering the knights on the spot.

Not, however, till 1308 did Earl William fully realise that suit and service to the English king involved formidable penalties. annexation, he saw, had lost pith at the very moment success seemed most assured, and poor Scotland, in spite of all she had undergone, was manifestly becoming compacted into a vigorous young nation. outlook had assumed a serious aspect for himself and his territories. Early that year Bruce, at the head of 3000 men, had advanced eastward to settle accounts with a fellow time-server, the Earl of Buchan, and in a few weeks reduced his rich Earldom to the condition of a desert. Following up this act of vengeance he marched north and took armed possession of the greater part of the Laich of Moray, fixed his headquarters at Auldearn, and was thus in a position to stop communications between all countries to the southward of Ross. Driven to despair the Earl addressed letters, in the most moving terms, both to England and to the English officials in Scotland, insisting on instant succour, "if all hope of freedom was not to perish"; but from neither quarter did any help come. Bruce, quite aware of the Earl's straits, and naturally preferring a powerful vassal to a destroyed enemy, invited him "across ferry" to a friendly conference, which the other, driven to extremities,

was fain to accept. To his infinite surprise the reception he met with was of the most friendly character. There was nothing, he found, to forgive. Even that dark business of breaking Sanctuary, and what followed, was declared to be a thing for which the Usurper alone was accountable. To these overtures the astonished Earl promptly responded by a transference of his allegiance, and was further encouraged to well-doing by a gift of Ferrincroscy, Dingwall Castle, its domains, and much else, and, on parting, Bruce promised to become his guest at an early date, and kill a buck in his company from the Earl's hunting-house of Kinnellan.

King Robert and the cause of Independence gained immensely by this politic conduct. The Earl became not only his staunch vassal but his personal friend, led the various septs of Ross and the Lewis at the decisive Battle of Bannockburn, where his eldest son, "the amiable Walter"—the bosom friend of Edward Bruce—was, with George, Chief of the Clan Munro, slain at his side.

Some years after Bannockburn-correct dates are not to be looked for during this period—the old difficulty between the Earldom and the Mackenzies again cropped up. The Chief of this period was favoured by Nature with a somewhat prominent nose, and has, in consequence, become known in the family annals as Kenneth with the Nose (Coinnich na Sthroin). In the altered circumstances he found it expedient to climb down from the position of quasi-independence assumed by his grandfather to that of a mere vassal and custodier of Ellandonan Castle; a charter certifying to the fact that Earl William had both signed and sealed in his own fortalice of that name being still extant. This was bad, but worse followed some years subsequently. It appears that the lands of Kinlochewe, belonging to Kenneth, were raided, from the adjacent district, by certain tenants of William, or of Hugh, his successor, and ignoring the rights of his superior he made personal reprisals, which the Earl could not pass over. Kenneth was apprehended, tried in Inverness on the capital charge, and hanged, while his lands in that quarter were bestowed on a vassal named Gillanders. Here the stout galley, bearing the fortunes of the House of Kintail, for the first time touched bottom, an occurrence over which its historians still refuse to be comforted!

Earl William died at Delney, in 1322. He left two sons and three

daughters; Hugh, his successor; John, who married Margaret Cumyn, daughter and co-heiress of John, Earl of Buchan. His daughter, Isabella, was betrothed, but not married, to Edward Bruce, while Dorothea had married Torquil Macleod, second baron of the Lewis. We have no record when, or where

HUGH, FIFTH EARL OF ROSS,

was born. It has been stated that in 1316, and while still a minor, he, by a questionable stretch of King Robert's royal authority, was appointed Vice-Comes, or Sheriff of Cromarty. That this could not have been the case is clear from the following facts:—

In a letter supplied from the English Records, and quoted by Sir William Fraser in his Sutherland Book, we find that Earl William of Ross obtained in 1308, from Sir Avlmer de Vallance, Guardian of Scotland, for his youngest son, John, the administration of the Sutherland estates, the second Earl of the line having shortly before died, his successor being but nineteen years of age, and consequently a minor. If Hugh was a minor, and even about coming of age in 1316, he could be no more than thirteen in the former year, while in that case John, third son, would at that time be no more than nine at furthest. It is, therefore, inconceivable that he should be appointed "ward of that Earldom" to answer for its issues, his ward being a young nobleman ten years his senior. John must therefore have been of full age at that period, and for similar reasons Hugh, when made Sheriff of Cromarty, must have been twenty-three or twenty-four years at least. It would also appear that in the self-same year of his appointment to the Sheriffdom he transferred it to Adam, the first of the Urquharts of Cromarty; the hereditary distinction continuing in the family until towards the close of the seventeenth century.

He also obtained from the same king—before or after his accession to the Earldom, it is hard to say which—certain lands which had previously been held by other Crown vassals in Skye, Strathglass, Strathconon, &c. At the disastrous Battle of Hallidon Hill, July 19th, 1333, he commanded the reserve and led it prematurely against the right wing of the English army under Baliol, when he, the Earl of Sutherland, and many other northern magnates, were driven back and slain. Guided no doubt by his personal attendants, the English found

on his body the remains of St Duthoch's shirt, until then believed to be of sovereign efficacy in rendering its wearer invulnerable. Having themselves at that period a weakness for similar trumpery, the English, accompanying the permission with many offensive epithets on the great god, Duthoch, allowed it to be carried back to its shrine, from whence, with its faded reputation, it soon after disappeared.

The Earl was twice married: first to Maud Bruce, daughter of King David II., her dowry being the burghal lands of Nairn. By her he had William, his successor, and Marjory, who married the Earl of Strathearn. By his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir David Graham of Old Montrose, he had Hugh of Rarichies, the founder of the Balnagown family, and all their branches.

CHAPTER VI.

WILLIAM, SIXTH EARL OF ROSS.

This nobleman held the dignity of Lord of Skye, was also termed in the charter "Frater Regis," and afterwards filled the position of Justiciar north of the Forth. He was travelling in Norway when his father was slain, and did not take possession of the Earldom till 1336. His character may be summed up in a sentence; he was a typical member of Scotland's turbulent nobility. It would, however, appear that he did not altogether neglect his magisterial duties, for we read in the Fowlis Papers that in 1339, and while he was pursuing a party of marauders, George, sixth Baron of Fowlis, was slain at his side. Gregory informs us that in 1342, he and Reginald, son of Roderic of the Isles, and a number of other distinguished guests, were entertained in Urquhart Castle by its genial constable, Sir Thomas Lauder. that occasion these severally witnessed a charter by which the Earl conveyed to Reginald ten dayochs of land in Kintail, which was confirmed two years later by David II. It would appear, however, that soon thereafter the Earl saw that by this step he had simply put his own interests in that quarter in peril. For during the interval Reginald had not only acquired the district of Garmoran, on the mainland, but the Islands of Uist, Barra, Eig, and Rum as well. A confirmed charter could not, of course, be cancelled, and as matters were then understood a vassal with possessions of that magnitude could only exist as a menace, and to be got rid of at the earliest opportunity.

Relations between the parties existed in this state, till in 1346 Earl and vassal, at the head of their respective followers, were summoned by King David to meet him at Perth, both obeying, that monarch's ill-starred expedition into England having been resolved upon. The character and temper of the Earl may be estimated from the fact that

while there, and during the night, he led a party to the monastery of Elcho where Reginald was quartered, murdering him and seven followers. This tragedy had a disastrous effect on the expedition, for, dreading the king's resentment, the earl led his followers home, and the Islesmen, finding themselves chiefless, also stole away.

Notwithstanding this serious diminution of force the king set out, was defeated, taken prisoner, and lodged in the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for eleven years.

His captivity, however, did nothing towards forwarding the English subjugation of Scotland. The national cause was vigorously upheld by Sir Alexander Murray, Sir Alexander Ramsay, the Earl of March, and no less so by his Countess, Black Agnes, daughter of the famous Thomas Randolph, of the War of Independence.

The Earl of Ross took no part in the struggle. Nay, more, though the captive king was his uncle, he refused, in company with several of the northern Earls whom he had seduced, to contribute to the fund which the patriotic noblemen were collecting for his ransom. connection his brother, the laird of Balnagown, similarly misconducted himself. They were not forgotten when the day of reckoning arrived. The Earl, besides, remained out of his place in Parliament during the years 1366 and 1367, a proceeding which then amounted to high treason. At last, it would appear, Earl William's bad conduct had converted certain of his contemporaries into a species of Vigilance Committee, for by means not specified he was forced into a bond under due securities to administer justice equitably, and exhibit more zeal than heretofore in collecting the public revenue. No better proof could be given that the Earl was a bad man and a worse magistrate, and accordingly tradition has singled him out as the only one of his line capable of that act of inhumanity, referred to as follows in Rev. W. Taylor's interesting History of Tain:-

"There was indeed in those days a powerful Earl of Ross, sometimes residing at Delney, in our own neighbourhood, and occasionally in his own Castle of Dingwall, who possessed power and authority second only to the king, and to whom the oppressed might, if they chose, appeal; but the Earls of Ross seem to have been themselves sometimes the chief oppressors. You doubtless remember the well-known story of one of them who, when a woman he had injured

threatened to complain to the king, nailed horse shoes to her feet, in order, he told her, that she might be the better able to perform the journey." Fordun gives another version of the same story, the offender being "a notorious thief named Donald Ross." When it is remembered that the only persons then bearing that surname was the laird of Balnagown and his sons we are led to the conclusion that the act was that of a nephew, his uncle, the Earl, being accessory to the fact.

In 1350 the Earl, with the consent of his sister Marjorie, and conditional on the king giving his assent, appointed his brother Hugh his heir. The day of reckoning had, however, arrived, the royal assent was refused; nay, a punitive arrangement was set on foot, for the king some time previously and irrespective of the Earl's assent had bestowed his daughter Euphame's hand on Walter Lesley, and in 1370 compelled the Earl to resign all his possessions for reinfeffment. Accordingly a new charter was granted of the Earldom of Ross, the Lordship of Skye, and all the other lands included in the Earldom, except those of Buchan, which reverted to the Crown; first to the heirs male of the Earl's body; whom failing, to Walter de Lesley, as Euphame's hubsand; whom failing, to Janet, his younger daughter, and her heirs. This probably was David's last judicial act, for he soon thereafter died, and was succeeded by Robert II.

During the first year of King Robert's reign a Querimonia was addressed to him by the Earl, complaining of the manner in which he had been deprived of all his possessions for the behoof of Sir Walter Lesley, and of a similar hardship incurred by his brother, Hugh, with respect to those of Buchan, subscribing himself—Your Humilis Nepos; but no notice was taken of the Querimonia, and soon thereafter its author went the way of all flesh. His son, William, was one of the young noblemen from the North—John, son of the Earl of Sutherland by Marjory Bruce, being the other—who were named hostages for David II., but he died while on his way to England. By virtue of the new charter Euphame became Countess, the first of the female line, and in her right (as her husband) Walter Lesley became, in 1371,

WALTER, SEVENTH EARL OF ROSS.

Of this nobleman nothing of any interest is recorded except that he left a son, Alexander, who ultimately succeeded him, and a daughter, Margaret, who married Donald, Lord of the Isles. Earl Walter died about 1382. After his death, and to the detriment of the rights of his son, his widow was forced to marry Sir Alexander Stewart, fourth son of Robert II., then king's lieutenant in the north, but better known by his alias, "The Wolf of Badenoch," and one of the most unmitigated ruffians born in or out of the purple, by whom, however, she had no issue. Previously created Earl of Buchan, he, in his wife's right, became

ALEXANDER, EIGHTH EARL OF ROSS.

By the addition of the Earldom of Ross to his other possessions, the power of the Wolf greatly overshadowed that of every other Scottish subject, no doubt the end contemplated by this family arrangement. Love on the part of either Earl or Countess had of course no existence, for whatever organ answering to a heart possessed by the husband had long before been given to a leman, Mariola, the daughter of Athin, by whom he had five sons—Alexander, Earl of Mar; Andrew, Walter, James, and Duncan, and all of them as wolfish as their father.

Of his administration of Ross we know nothing, except that on two occasions at least, in 1384 and 1387, he granted charters from the Castle of Delney. It is therefore probable that the Countess resided chiefly in her own Castle of Dingwall, and through her officials dispensed what justice was going. There are indeed traditions relating to this period which tend to throw an equivocal light upon her own personal character, and though indeed probable enough lack that authenticity which would entitle them to a place in history. Since, therefore, the connection of the Wolf with the affairs of Ross, as distinguished from his enjoyment of the revenues, was from the first of a nominal character, and since all of his characteristic performances which history has thought fit to record took place in Badenoch, Moray, and the town of Inverness, we shall pass over the whole except those which occurred in the latter place, and which we take the liberty of borrowing from Dr C. F. Mackintosh's "Invernessiana." It would appear that in consequence of complaints with respect to the conduct of her husband, which the Countess made to the Bishops of Moray and Ross, an inquiry was held in the Church of the Preaching Friars at Inverness, over which these prelates presided, the results of which were as follows:-

"By sentence of the Bishops of Moray and Ross, pronounced within

the Church of the Preaching Friars at Inverness, on the 22nd November. 1389, it is ordained as follows: -In the name of Christ; We, Alexander, and Alexander, by the grace of God, Bishops of Moray and Ross, diocesans and judges ordinary of the parts underwritten, sitting in the judgment seat, and having God alone before our eyes, by the advice of skilled men with which we have been in communication as to all these matters, having heard and understood what each party wished to offer against each other; and having considered the mode of procedure, pronounce, discern, and declare by this writ, that Lady Euphemia, Countess of Ross, must be restored to Lord Alexander, Seneschal, Earl of Buchan, and Lord of Ross, as her husband and spouse, together with her possessions. And we have restored her so far as the law can, to be treated honourably with matrimonial affection at bed and board, in food and raiment, and all others, according to what becomes her station, and that Mariola, daughter of Athyn, must be sent away; and we do send her away, as by law we are able; and that she shall not hereafter dismiss her (the Countess). And since the aforesaid Lady Euphemia, the Countess, alleges fear of death . . . from his men, slaves, nobles, and others, the said Earl shall find and deliver to us by way of surety, the security of great and honourable persons, and that under penalty of two hundred pounds, that he shall treat the said lady becomingly, as above said. . . . This our sentence was read, published in the Church of the Preaching Friars of Inverness, the second day of November, in the year of the Lord, 1308. Present, the great man, Robert, Earl of Sutherland, and the religious man, Adam, Abbot of Kinloss, Masters William de Spynie, and William de Dingwall, Deans of the Churches of Aberdeen and Ross, &c., and many other witnesses especially called to the premises. And the said Lord Alexander, then personally constituted, promised, and faithfully undertook to perform and fulfil the premises all and sundry enjoined upon him by us, under the penalty aforesaid; and to this end gave us as sureties the said Lord Earl of Sutherland, Alexander of Moravia, Lord of Culbyn, and Thomas de Chisholm, then present, and consenting to pay to us the foresaid penalty, when and how often he, which God forbid, would come to do anything against the premises or any of them. Given and done as above, and before the above mentioned witnesses."

As might have been anticipated, the Wolf soon after relapsed into

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his old course, and before the year was out a formal separation had to be arranged. The Countess formally took up residence in Dingwall Castle, exercising all her functions as Countess, but shortly before her death, in 1394, she became Abbess of Elcho. She was married at Fortrose, while the Wolf, also dying during the same year, was buried at Dunkeld. The Countess was succeeded in that year by her son,

ALEXANDER, NINTH EARL OF ROSS.

He married Isobel, eldest daughter of Robert Stewart, Earl of Fife and Duke of Albany, then Regent of Scotland. He appears to have been a very ordinary sort of person, but while making no figure, bad or good, in history, may, notwithstanding, have been the precise Land Father which the Province stood most in need of. The date of Earl Alexander's death is given by some authorities as 1404, and by others as 1410—the latter the most probable. He died in his Castle of Dingwall, leaving one daughter, Euphemia, his only child, who is described as a "crouch-backit" delicate creature, a circumstance which in due time ushered in a political tempest of the first magnitude.

The Earldom of Ross was confessedly a great prize, eagerly coveted by many, but clearly, with respect to the existing vacancy, competitors other than those of the Royal House and its connections were not in the running, while among these—as is evident—cupidity had become abnormally acute. It would, however, be unjust to allege that cupidity alone ruled the situation; for, without doubt, patriotism to some extent at least influenced the executive when facing the formidable difficulty of providing a head for the Earldom of Ross. If, on the one hand, the heiress-at-law was eligible for marriage, and a fitting husband of the Royal House available, no difficulty would have arisen, since by an established principle the Countess possessed the power to confer the major title on the husband of her choice. On the other hand, the setting of her aside altogether involved difficulties of the most formidable character. For, if relegated to perpetual spinsterhood, the next heiress, without doubt, was her aunt Margaret, the wife of that equivocal subject, Donald of the Isles, who, on her accession, would also on the forementioned principle become Earl of Ross, and thereby the most powerful vassal in the kingdom. Therefore, in order to avoid what would have been a clear menace to the dynasty, the Regent felt it

necessary to adopt a course by which Donald's claims could be ignored under some colour of law.

The office of Regent at this period was held by Robert, Duke of Albany, the handsome, able, but crafty son of King Robert II., to whom Euphemia stood in the relation of grandchild, and in whose hands she was as plastic as clay in the hands of the potter. The plan he adopted, though not carried out for five years after, was the following:— Euphemia, retaining the title of Countess as a solatium for her vanity, was to be induced to take the veil, but, before becoming thus dead in law, she was to resign the Earldom into his hands for reconveyance to her uncle, the Earl of Buchan.

From the point of view occupied by Donald and his partizans, nothing could be more reprehensible than this arrangement, and as soon as it became rumoured, the Chief wrote Albany that he might amuse himself with the reconveyance as he liked, but as for himself he had resolved to peril all he already possessed, or gain an Earldom, to which no one else had so good a title.

Although, as already referred to, the whole Western Isles were many years previously transferred to the Scottish Crown, Donald still affected to consider himself a species of independent sovereign, a form of self-homage which Albany's policy, not to speak of the family aggrandisement involved, went far to mortify; nor were there awanting at his barbarous Court those whose interests lay in ministering to these angry feelings. Conspicuous among these were emissaries from the English Government, resolved as a set-off to the losses formerly inflicted upon it by the Scottish freebooters to treat these marauders to a war of disintegration in their own country. From them Donald obtained liberal supplies of arms and money; it being from the first understood that if he succeeded in supplanting the existing dynasty no more acceptable return could be desired for the outlays.

By the way, the reverend editors of the History of the Clan Donald write deliciously on this subject. "The exigencies of political warfare," they state, "forced the Island Family to seek the friendly alliance of England against an aggressive Scottish neighbour." If the Clan Donald are equal to this sort of thing in the green tree of 1896, how they must have gasconaded in the dry tree of 1411!

It was, of course, an easy matter for Donald to secure the active

co-operation of the turbulent Highland and Island chieftains, for rapine constituted the one serious business of their lives, and though probably few or none understood the principle underlying the quarrel, the scent of booty, which the expedition would afford them an opportunity of collecting, sufficed to secure their active support. Thus, after many secret negotiations, a force of 10,000 were held in leash against the beginning of July, 1411, and so private were the arrangements kept that not until the heads of the various hordes were seen converging upon Inverness were the inhabitants of the Machair and the Laich aware that their lives and properties were about to be put to the arbitrament of the sword. A sense of imminent danger, however, gave wings to the feet of messengers, and a nation at all times in a state of semi-preparedness for war was after all found equal to the occasion.

We are not concerned with the routes taken by such combatants as were collected south of the Farrar, but very much otherwise with that which, after landing from Loch Long, marched by Glen Ling, Glen Fiodaic, Strathconon, and Contin, for at its head was the Lord of the Isles in person. His chief object was of course to seize the Castle of Dingwall, the centre and symbol of the Earldom of Ross.

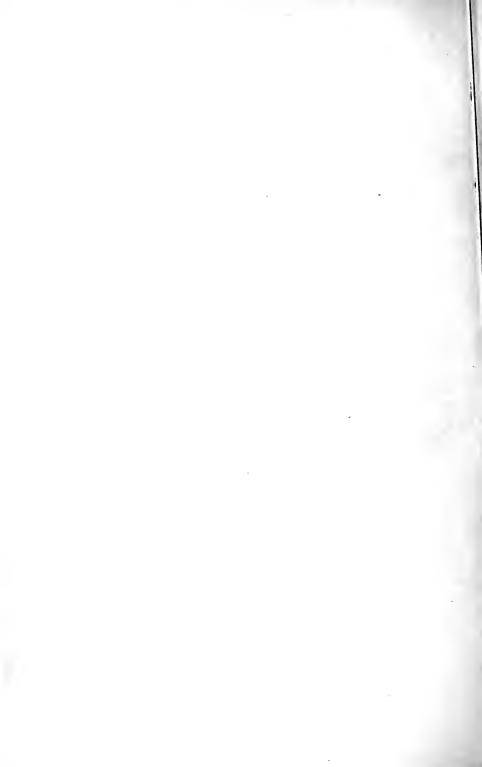
To reach this point, after wading the Blackwater, three formidable passes presented themselves; first, that lying between the beetling precipices of Brahan and the Conon; second, that termed Bealach 'n Cor, to the eastward of the village of Jameston; and third, the steep hill-side, termed Park, south-west of Strathpeffer Spa, which, though difficult, was much the safest of the three. This was the route actually adopted, though in consequence of the desperate resistance offered he failed at that time to reach his objective.

The Earl, to whom its revenues formed the chief value of the Province, was at this period, there is reason to believe, a mercenary in the service of the Italian Republics, but the Regent took care to place both Castle and approaches in a sufficient state of defence. The person in charge was one Angus Dubh Mackay of Farr, the Castle garrison, it is probable, being made up of his followers, supported by the people of the town and the important neighbouring Dingwall family; but, doubtless, the bulk of the fighting line consisted of the always loyal Munros of Ferrindonald, then commanded by Robert, fourth Baron.

This particular fight has been termed Blar-in-inich (the battle of the



"CLACH'N TUINDAIN."



solitude), and had its locus on the line of the Strathpeffer Railway, some distance west of the point where the Peffery, after crossing the valley, turns eastward at about a right angle. At this period the stream meandered through the wide morass, the site of the upper lake referred to in a previous chapter. Thus the way to Dingwall and its Castle lay on a narrow ledge, with the dangerous quagmire on the one hand and the rough hillside on the other. Astride this ledge Mackay posted his forces, and his judgment in occupying it, albeit he was himself made a prisoner, and his brother, Roderic Gault, slain, was fully justified by results.

It is not to be doubted that if Donald had chosen to sacrifice half his men he could, by sheer weight of numbers, have fought his way down to the Castle, but he must have reflected that, if successful in his main enterprise, possession both of Castle and Earldom would follow as a matter of course; while, if unsuccessful, his expulsion would be equally certain. Accordingly, and in view of the desperate resistance offered, he withdrew, regained the watershed, and, by fording the Conon, the Farrar, and the Ness, joined the main body. This then, putting together the meagre accounts to hand of this action, and reading them in the light of the topography of the district at the period, was the check which, historians tell us, Donald received at or near Dingwall. On the other hand, this fight is reckoned among the brilliant achievements of the Clan Munro. This is evident from the pains they took to commemorate the action. Having procured a slab of trap, they cut upon it the figure of an eagle, the crest of the Clan; erected it on the spot whence the Islesmen retreated, and termed it Clach 'n Tuindain (the Stone of the Turning), by which name it is known to this day. It should be mentioned that it originally stood on the opposite side of the hollow, somewhere near where the railway station stands, thence it was removed to form part of a boundary dyke, and was ultimately erected in its present position where, termed "The Eagle Stone," it forms one of the sights of Strathpeffer.

It does not lie within the plan of the present work to narrate Donald's Attilla-like march into Aberdeenshire, or the check he received at "The Sair Harlaw," a check so severe as to force him to retrace his steps homewards. Nor was the question, whether Scotland was to be ruled by the barbarous islander or the civilized Saxon, one cheaply answered.

The bulk of the chivalry of both Angus and the Mearns fell in that battle, "so that the coronach was cried in ae day from the mouth of the Tay to the Buck of the Cabrach, and ye wad hae heard nae ither sound but that of lamentation for the great folks that had fa'n fighting against Donald of the Isles." (Scott.)

Having come by way of Ross, Donald, with a considerable following, took that direction home. On this occasion no serious resistance on the part of the local garrison was offered, and it would appear that he ruled the situation in Ross for more than a year. But in 1412, the Regent, having collected a sufficient force, marched against him, and the Island Chief, not finding himself in a position to withstand an attack of this nature, withdrew without coming to blows. It is said that previous to his departure he burnt Dingwall Castle, which we do not believe, but we think it highly probable that he gave the town of Dingwall to the flames.

Donald was thus forced to abandon all pretensions to the Earldom of Ross, and became, in the absolute sense, and as a condition of retaining his other estates, a vassal of the Scottish Crown, and had also to deliver hostages as security for his future good conduct. He died in one of his castles in Islay, about the year 1423, leaving as issue Alexander, who succeeded to the Earldom; Hugh, ancestor of the present Lord Macdonald; Celestine, posterity extinct; and Margaret, who married John, eighth Earl of Sutherland.

The reasons of State which called for a judicious settlement of the Earldom, and the Regent's plan for the aggrandisement at the same time of his own family—the mere rumour of which led to the Harlaw inroad—have been indicated. Not, however, until 1415 was it actually brought to parchment. In that year Euphemia (who, it appears, died soon after), resigned her title and possessions formally into the hands of her grandfather, receiving them back again by charter, first, to the heirs male of his own body, whom failing, to John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, whom failing, to Robert Stewart, brother of John, whom failing to the king and his heirs. As Sir John Stewart thus became numbered among our provincial potentates, we must here style him,

JOHN, TENTH EARL OF ROSS.

This nobleman was an eminent Soldado, of the Dugald Dalgetty

type, but does not appear to have at any time devoted his eminent fighting talent to the service of his own country. He was absent while Donald of the Isles was making his first inroad into Ross, and though many of his Buchan vassals were present, and perished at the Harlaw he did not appear there in any capacity. It is therefore probable that during the period in question he was acquiring his military education among the Condottieri of Italy, pupils in their turn of Sir John Hawkwood, whom Hallam considers to have been the most distinguished commander who appeared in Europe since the destruction of the Roman Empire.

He first appears in history as having gone along with the Earl of Douglass, Sir John Swinton, and others, at the head of 6000 of his countrymen, to the assistance of the French monarchy, then in desperate straits in consequence of the wholesale destruction of their nobility at the battle of Agincourt (1415). As is well known, the English army under the Duke of Clarence was there to make good the claims of his brother, Henry V., to the French Crown, and while the presence of the Scots served as a rallying point to the demoralised French these mercenaries were in a proportionate degree disturbing the English leaders.

Clarence, on hearing that the Scots were encamped and kept but an indifferent watch at the Bridge of Bauge (1421), resolved to surprise them by means of a forced march with his cavalry. On arriving, the Duke, to his surprise, found the Scots on the alert, but, notwithstanding, resolved to force the passage of the Bridge. The English were thoroughly beaten in the encounter, many of them being slain, the Duke himself falling under the battle-axe of Buchan and Ross. Great rewards in the form of titles fell to the victors, but from the impoverished state of France it is doubtful whether they obtained anything more solid.

The Scots fought bravely, but unsuccessfully, on various fields, especially at Vernuil (1423), where the Earl of Buchan and Ross, the Earl of Douglass, and by far the greater number of the Scottish Auxiliaries died on the field.

From the foregoing sketch it will be manifest that as a Provincial Land Father, Earl John was sadly awanting. In fact, Ross must have shared to the full in the misrule general all over Scotland, first, during the administration of Robert Duke of Albany from 1410 to 1419 and,

next, from the latter date, during the Regency of his son Murdoch, until the accession in 1424 of James I. In the utter dearth of materials wherewithal to illustrate our History, we are therefore thankful for the following excerpt from the Fowlis Papers:—"During the administration of Albany he was represented in Ross by an individual whose name is not given, but who was known as the Black Captain. Happening one day to meet Thomas, second son of the Baron of Fowlis, somewhere in the vicinity of Maryburgh, they had an altercation which led to a personal conflict in which the Chamberlain was slain or mortally wounded. The homicide fled the country on the instant, betook himself to his mother's relatives at Corstorphine where, having adopted the surname of Roach, or Reach, the Gaelic equivalent of Munro, he remained in safety and left descendants bearing the strange surname.

Sir Robert Gordon has a story of those stormy times, the facts of which may be accepted as probable, but which, with respect to its dramatis personae, goes far to indicate the sifting through which much Highland history has to pass before it can be accepted. He tells us that Nicolas, Earl of Sutherland (there was no Earl of that name) having had a feud of long continuance with the Chief of the Strathnaver Mackays, and also with his son, Donald Mackay of Farr, proposed in 1395, with the view of having it adjusted, a meeting in the presence of his father-in-law, the Lord of the Isles, in his Castle of Dingwall. proposal was agreed to and the parties met. But during the altercation which followed, the Earl slew both the Mackays with his own hand, the Clan being too weak to avenge the blood-shedding. he goes on to say, was in some degree adjusted by Robert, Nicolas's successor, and Angus Mackay, eldest son of Donald, aforesaid. mixing and inventing of names and dates is after Sir Robert's usual manner. Donald, the Lord of the Isles referred to, it will be remembered, did not succeed in obtaining the Earldom of Ross, and did not even assume the title until 1411. His son-in-law was not Nicolas, but John, while the grandson of the murdered chief was that Angus Dubh Mackay who commanded at Blar-in-inich!

CHAPTER VII.

JAMES I. on his accession endeavoured to introduce into Scotland a better order of things than had heretofore existed. During his upbringing and education in England he had carefully noted the good order there everywhere present, saw that the severities meted out to lawbreakers of every degree, and tacitly approved by the rest of the population, had much to do with its furtherance, and resolved upon setting up a similar system in his own kingdom, without, however, duly considering the difference existing between the English and Scottish character, and that while a rudimentary form of public opinion was present in the former kingdom, it was altogether absent in the latter. Wise after the event, of course, it is plain to us that the new methods had not behind them that moral and material force which would ensure continuance, while by the reaction they evoked the king himself became their most conspicuous victim. Thus, while a fundamental condition of happy issues was overlooked, and the ghastly future lay well beneath the horizon, the hopeful king anticipated but one result from his policy -that of Scotland taking her place as an orderly, well governed unit among the nations.

Two classes only, he saw, existed in the kingdom; the great families and the masses. Among the former disorder reigned, the latter forming but the mere weapons by which mischief was wrought. James, accordingly, resolved to begin operations with the first, and the measures he adopted were, confessedly, examplary. Regent Murdoch, his two lawless sons, and the Duke of Lennox were apprehended, tried by a jury of Peers, and executed. Aware that against these noblemen the Island Family had long entertained revengeful feelings, Alexander Macdonald—who had succeeded his father—was named one of the jury, and in that position he no doubt fully met the views of the king.

The family compact made with Lady Euphemia of Ross, in 1415, as a matter of course fell to pieces at once, but the king took similar steps towards preventing the Island Family becoming a menace to the throne, retaining for the next seventeen years the Earldom of Ross in his own hands; took personal oversight in its affairs, and even granted charters as Earl. Necessarily, this assumption of his patrimonial rights gave great offence to Alexander, but James, who had been diligently collecting information, had found that even in his Island dominions he failed to meet the exigencies of the situation. The king also ascertained that the subordinate chiefs in that quarter formed a combination that rendered lawful rule all but impossible. As will be seen, a drastic remedy for all and sundry was in due time adopted.

But Alexander's mother also formed a special factor in the embroglio, and one still more difficult to counteract. Old in intrigue, swollen with family pride, and violent in temper, she had withal a grievance of her own which gave all these traits abnormal vigour. The king had pointedly refused to acknowledge her as Countess of Ross, and she in revenge, aware that no other course would so annoy an order-loving king, put forth all her influence towards bringing Island affairs into a state of chaos. The king, who had excellent information, became cognisant of the fact, and took his measures accordingly.

In pursuance of his fixed resolve to mend or end this state of things, James, in 1427, at the head of a small but well-appointed force, marched North, ordered his Parliament to assemble at Inverness, summoned every Highland chief of any consequence to meet him in that town on a fixed date, and requested "his lovit cusins," Lord Alexander and Lady Margaret, to meet him in his royal castle audience chamber. The event went to show that these principalities and powers had either quite misapprehended the character of the young king, or were in ignorance of the argus eyes which for some time past had been tabulating for his information their flagitious conduct, or thought that the meeting was to be of a merely ceremonial nature, a swearing of fealty, or an exchanging of compliments, for more than forty responded, including the "lovit cusins" of the Isles. They were soon undeceived, for with few exceptions they were instantly apprehended and committed to prison, Dingwall Castle receiving a goodly number. Macgorrie of Garmoran, and John Macarthur, whose crimes were notour and public, were immediately

brought to trial and executed. James Campbell was also hanged, as if to show the king's impartiality, for when during the Regency he had been ordered to take John de Islay prisoner, he had exceeded his commission by slaying him, in all probability to avoid a like fate. whose guilt required proof, were duly arraigned and then executed. Fordun relates: - "The king caused to be arrested Alexander of the Isles and his mother, each of whom he invited singly to the Castle, and caused them to be placed in strict confinement apart." Scott says that Alexander was kept in confinement for a year, others that after a severe lecture he was set at liberty; but as a hostage for her son's good behaviour and other sufficient reasons Lady Margaret was for the greater part of her remaining days imprisoned in Inchcolm. We also find that our old acquaintance, Angus Dubh Mackay of Farr, had the benefit of a lecture from the king, possibly on account of having been a partizan of the Regent's, and had to give up his son Niel by way of hostage for his future good behaviour, his place of detention being the Bass. We are told in the History of the Mackenzies, that Murdoch, fifth Chief, was the only one present whom the king distinguished by marks of favour, among other things taking charge of the education of his son, Alexander ("The Upright"), who had accompanied his father to Inverness, and sending him to the High School of Perth, then the first establishment of the sort in the kingdom. On the other hand the Chief of the Mathesons, Angus of Moray, and several other indifferently honest people got off with an admonition which, let us hope, did them good.

The indignity to which Alexander had been thus subjected so prayed upon his haughty spirit that in 1429 he summoned together his vassals to the number of 10,000, wasted the Crown Lands—the Black Isle probably—and burnt the town of Inverness. This conduct fanned the anger of James to a white heat; he collected a large force, marched into Lochaber, and surprised his rebellious vassal. Here while endeavouring to make the best of the situation, Alexander had the mortification to see his allies, the Clans Chattan and Cameron, deserting his cause and joining their forces with those of the king, leaving him no resource but flight.

Reduced to despair by finding it impossible to escape capture, he adopted the romantic expedient of throwing himself on the royal clemency in the most abject manner he could think of. Contriving to

reach the Chapel of Holyrood undetected he presented himself before the king, in his shirt and drawers, and holding his sword by the point, the hilt within reach of the king's hand, sued for mercy upon his knees. At the solicitation of the queen and the nobles present his life was spared, but he was sent to prison in Tantallon Castle, where he remained for two years.

While there—it is hard to say with what intent—his relative, termed Donald Balloch, collected a large force, with which, in Lochaber, he attacked the royal army, commanded by the Earls of Mar and Caithness, and subjected it to a total defeat, Mar being slain in the action. This reverse infuriated the king, he again took the field in person, and his determined character so filled the insurgents with alarm that, without coming to blows, most of them surrendered at discretion. By this means many of the more unruly spirits of the West Highlands were got hold of and led to immediate execution. On account of the assistance which Alexander of Lochaber had rendered to Balloch he was deprived of his lands, and Lord Alexander, as his nominal superior, was forced to bestow them on his former deserter, the Chief of the Clan Chattan. At the termination of his two years' imprisonment, Alexander secured in Parliament a free pardon, it being seen that he was in no way answerable for Donald Balloch's insurrection.

The assassination, in 1437, of James I. was productive of many changes, and among others, the Island Chief had restored to him all his patrimonial rights; and in that way, after a hiatus of twenty-seven years, the Province obtained at its head,

ALEXANDER, ELEVENTH EARL OF ROSS.

who, as such, forthwith took up his place in the councils of the nation. During the minority of James II. he held the office of Justiciar, north of the Forth, a distinction he doubtless owed to the Earl of Douglass, then Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. The only record forthcoming of his judicial acts was his treatment of one of his deserter Chiefs, that of the Clan Cameron, who had to fly for his life, and remain an exile for many years.

The potential danger to the peace of the kingdom which the union of the Earldom of Ross with the Lordship of the Isles was felt to involve became, in fact, at this period a disentegrating force, and fully justified the steps previously adopted both by Albany and James I. to prevent its occurring. The procuring causes which led to that development require to be stated.

There is reason to believe that the Earl of Douglass then contemplated either the converting of the royal authority into a mere apanage of his Earldom, or, of supplanting in his own person the Royal House itself; nor in this bold project did he lack the concurrence of many of the leading nobles of the kingdom, including the Earl of Ross.

That personage, it would appear, thought that on acceding to great power, a great occasion for its exercise, irrespective of consequences, was its only fitting corollary, and accordingly, in 1446, he entered into the above conspiracy with zeal; but the fortunes of the House of Stewart were then in the ascendant, untoward accidents were constantly occurring, the partizans of the young king were vigilant, so that in short, for the following six years nothing effectual could be done, and thus Earl Alexander's sole contribution towards giving us a Douglass, in place of a Stewart dynasty, was to sow dragon's teeth for the use, and as it turned out, the destruction of his son and successor, for he died in May, 1449, in his Castle of Dingwall, and was buried in Channonry Cathedral. By his first Countess, daughter of Alexander Seaton, Lord of Gordon, he had as issue, John, his successor. By his second wife (handfasting arrangement, see ante), he had Celestine, who inherited, through his mother, the heiress of the last Macintagart of Applecross, the lands of Lochalsh; and Hugh, Lord of Sleat.

John, the last who bore the double title, was but sixteen years old when his father died, and in consequence became a ward of the king; a type of authority which, while it went to prevent a misuse of his great inheritance, in no degree served to prepare him for the high position its enjoyment involved, nor even to restrain his youthful passions. Thus, before he was eighteen, he had become the father of at least one illegitimate child, the notorious Angus Og, and there can be little doubt the rest of the young man's conduct was in strict correspondence. To this period of tutelage, therefore, may be fairly ascribed the invertebrate character he exhibited from his accession to power, and which after leading to many striking vicissitudes had its fitting apotheosis in the Dundee lodging-house and a common tramp's bed!

The young Earl's guardian, James II., inherited from his sixth year,

during which his father was murdered, to the close of his life, one of the thorniest crowns ever worn by annointed monarch. The guardian of his person was Sir Alexander Livingstone, while the Chancellor of the kingdom was Sir William Crichton. These quarrelled incessantly, and together carried on the same species of warfare with a greater person still, the potent Earl of Douglass, the Lieutenant-General of Scotland. All three were equally unprincipled. The latter-Earl Alexander's fellow-conspirator—however, died in 1439, and was succeeded by his son, William, a youth of sixteen, who, with his brother, David, was soon thereafter inveigled by Livingstone and Crichton to Edinburgh, and there, in spite of the young king's entreaties, murdered in his presence. Amid surroundings like these King James attained man's estate, while another Douglass of identical temper and ambition with the former arose contemporaneously to carry on the old conspiracy. Of this intrigue the king became soon aware, and with the view of securing the allegiance of the young Earl of Ross, his ward, supplied him with a wife from the family of Sir James Livingstone, whom he considered one of the most loyal subjects. Here the king made two capital mistakes; the Livingstones were already deeply, but secretly, involved in the Douglass conspiracy, while the promise he had made of endowering the lady with a handsome cantlet of land, he failed to keep. Thus, John, on the one hand was almost unconsciously introduced into an atmosphere of intrigue, and on the other was led to harbour resentful feelings towards his guardian, the king. In these unpropitious circumstances accordingly he entered on possession of his vast inheritance, and became

JOHN, TWELFTH AND LAST EARL OF ROSS, AND LAST LORD OF THE ISLES.

In these circumstances, too, he entered into a treasonable bond with the Earls of Douglass and Crawfurd, of which, indeed, the king had timely notice, but being about to lead in person an expedition south into the Douglass country, he was for the present forced to regard the callow northern potentate as a negligent quantity. On this occasion the king made himself master of Lochmaben Castle, for ages a centre of disaffection, and razed it to the ground. Douglass, then on a visit to the Pope, hearing of this disaster, immediately returned home with the intention of making, if possible, his peace with the king, but his northern

confederate made this impossible by an untoward step he now took.

Collecting his forces, he seized the Royal Castle of Inverness, thence marched and took that of Urquhart, and stormed and demolished the fortalice of Ruthven, in Badenoch. Inverness Castle he supplied with all needful stores and a garrison, while that of Urquhart he gave in charge of his father-in-law, Sir James Livingstone, who, having broken prison, fled north with the view of improving the occasion.

There is no record of any attempt on that occasion to reduce Earl John to obedience. James felt himself so weak that condonation rather than suppression of the rebellion had to be resorted to. Earl John was, accordingly, allowed to retain possession both of Urquhart and Glenmorriston, on condition of paying into the Royal Exchequer an annual rent of £100, represented in the books by a column of arrears.

Owing to the generally inaccessible position of his territories, and, it may be added, of his own feeble character, the part played by Earl John in the Douglass conspiracy from the years 1449 to 1455, was mainly by giving momentum, rather than active assistance, to the traitors in the fore-front, but none the less did it cause great anxiety to the king. The Harlaw expedition of his grandfather, Donald, was too weil remembered, while a similar inroad lay quite within the lines of current politics. In these circumstances the expediency of annulling the conspiracy, by fair means or foul, became a passion with the king, and with the view of giving it effect, he invited the Earl of Douglass to his Court at Stirling, which invitation, having been endorsed by a Safe Conduct under the free seal, the latter obeyed. He was received with a great show of kindness, supped with the king, and was then led into another apartment, where a few of the council and several of the body-guard were assembled. James introduced the subject of the bond with the Earls of Ross and Crawfurd, and exhorted Douglass, as he valued his allegiance and the peace of his kingdom to give it up. demurred, and proceeded to upraid James for his own maladministration of the kingdom. This insolence enraged the king, who exclaimed, as he stabbed him to the heart with his dagger, "By heaven, my lord, if you will not break the league this shall." Unquestionably it was a base and wicked act, and was so considered even in that rough time, but somehow, it ultimately led to the relieving of Scotland from the Douglass ulcer.

The eldest of the late Earl's brothers was at once acknowledged as his successor, and for the next three years the Douglass faction gave the king ample anxiety and employment. But in 1455 their main force met the Royal Border Clans at Arkinholme on the Esk, and were completely defeated, many of the leading turbulent nobles being killed in the action. Soon thereafter Douglass, and his brother, Sir John Douglass of Balvany, made their way to the Western Isles, and were hospitably received by the Earl of Ross, who, in their interest, at once resolved upon reprisals. He, it is said, collected a fleet of one hundred galleys, placed on board 3000 men, and dispatched them south-west under the command of the veteran, Donald Balloch. The net results of this foolish expedition were worthy of its inception, consisting merely of the deaths of about twenty men, women and children, in Arran and the Cumbraes, a few pounds of the national cess, and a hundred bolls of meal. fugitives now fully realising that the game of rebellion had gone against them both south and north, returned to England, leaving their Highland confederate to meet damages as he best could. That he forthwith attempted. Securing the good offices of a friendly nobleman, he entreated forgiveness of the king, and promised to make good, so far as lay in his power, the mischief he had done. The king at first rejected his petition, but ultimately consented to grant him a period of probation, during which, should his behaviour be answerable, a foundation would be laid for forgiveness and future favour.

From the fact that in 1457 Earl John was appointed one of the Warders of the Marches it is clear that he had shown some tokens of amendment, for the position was one of trust. About the same period he was one of the noblemen chosen to guarantee the due observance of the truce with England, a further proof that he was advancing in the favour of James.

Previous to the siege of Roxburgh (1460), during which James II. was killed, Earl John joined the royal army with 3000 well-armed Highlanders, and offered, should an invasion of England be resolved upon, to form the advance guard. It is on record that his offer was well received by the king, but as no invasion took place he had no opportunity of displaying either his own or his followers' valour.

Parliament met at Edinburgh soon after, and, among other noblemen, was attended by Earl John, but no record of his proceedings exist. Subsequent events would, however, seem to indicate that the latent ambition he had inherited from his grandfather had become active consequent upon seeing the crown worn by a child, and leading to corresponding day dreams of wide rule; for it is certain that his confederacy with the banished Chief of the Douglasses was, as a first step, renewed about this time. The latter turbulent nobleman at this period seemed to have forgotten every patriotic tradition of his historic house, looked solely towards the English king for a restoration of his estates and honours, and found no difficulty in persuading the Earl of Ross to support him in his treasonable schemes.

In pursuance of these, on the 19th October, 1461, the Earl, with the concurrence of his principal vassals and kinsmen, assembled in the Castle of Ardtornish, granted a commission, in the manner of an independent prince, to his trusty and well-beloved cousins, Ronald of the Isles, and Duncan, Arch-Dean of the Isles, to proceed to London, there to confer with similar commissioners from Edward IV. These accordingly met at Westminster, and after long enegotiation concluded one of the most extraordinary treaties ever brought to parchment. distinct purpose was the dismemberment of the Scottish monarchy! The force to be employed in the preliminary conquest was, first, the vassals and clansmen owning allegiance to the Earl of Ross; second, those to be raised from among his former vassals of the earl of Douglass; and third, such support from the English King in the form of men, money, and arms as was specified in the treaty. stipulations was that the Earl of Ross, Donald Balloch, and John, that partisan's son and heir, would become the sworn vassals of Edward IV., and assist him in all his wars both in England and Ireland. consideration of this, the Earl of Ross was to have £300 a year in time of war, Donald Balloch £40, and his son £20, but half of these sums in time of peace. Its leading provision, however, was that upon the subjugation of Scotland the whole kingdom north of the Forth was to be divided equally between the two Earls and Donald Balloch, Douglas receiving, in addition, his former possessions, while what remained of the kingdom was to form King Edward's share. In the event of such partition and restoration being carried out, the salaries payable to the Earl and his associates were to

cease. This astounding treaty is dated at London 13th February, 1462.

Quite in keeping with what our American cousins would term this "wild cat" project were the Earl's first steps towards giving it effect. The negotiations were barely concluded when he raised the standard of rebellion, assembled a large force, placed it under the command of his bastard son, Angus Og, a mere boy (the Earl himself was then but thirty), but really under that of Donald Balloch, and ordered it to march eastward. Becoming master of the Castle of Inverness, Angus, in the name of the Earl, issued proclamations from there to the inhabitants of the Sheriffdom of Inverness, and of the burghs of Inverness and Nairn, to pay into his hands under pain of death all the feus, rents, and taxes formerly payable to the Crown officials. When it is remembered that the Sheriffdom in question at that period comprehended a considerable portion of the modern county of that name, and the whole of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, the audacity of this proceeding can with difficulty be matched in even Scotland's chequered history.

Unhappily, "Our Special Reporter" had not arrived upon the scene sufficiently early to record the impressions made upon the general population by this outbreak, but we are, however, told upon competent authority, that all at once, and without any application of force, the movement lost all coherence, and sank under the weight of its own absurdity; the fighting men, we read, on realising the nature of the service for which they were assembled, slipped away, betaking themselves stealthily to their own glens and islands.

The affairs of the kingdom at that period were conducted by the vigilant and prudent Archbishop Kennedy, who was soon made aware of the mad prank of the Earl of Ross, and had him summoned to answer for his conduct in Parliament. He at first failed to appear, but on learning that a strong force was being got ready for his apprehension, he prevented its marching by bringing it to submission. Kennedy, however, did not know of the felonious treaty, was averse to pushing matters to extremities, and, in consequence, Earl John was allowed, without obtaining a formal pardon, to retain undisturbed possession of his territories for a further period of fifteen years.

At length, in 1476, from information supplied by the English

officials, the terms of the fatal treaty of 1462 became known, when it was resolved to proceed against the Earl of Ross as a convicted traitor and rebel. Accordingly he was summoned by Unicorn Pursuivant at his Castle of Dingwall to appear before the Parliament to be held at Edinburgh in December of that year, and there answer to the various charges to be brought against him. Commission was also given to the Earl of Argyle to formulate the decree of forfeiture, not only for the English treaty, but for the rebellious courses formerly enumerated, and, pending the sanction of the king, on the appointed day sentence was pronounced.

Matters having become too serious for delay, a strong force was collected to carry the sentence of the Parliament into effect, and placed under the command of the Earls of Crawfurd and Athol. These proceedings filled the Earl with dismay, and by the advice of his friends, he, through the Earl of Huntly, sued for pardon. The Queen, and even the Estates of Parliament were persuaded to intercede for the repentant nobleman, who soon thereafter appeared in person at Court, and with many expressions of contrition threw himself on the Royal elemency. The king, by what then appeared to be an act of extraordinary grace, agreed—at least in form—to pardon his relative and vassal, while the Parliament that met at Edinburgh on the 1st of the next July, also formally restored him to all his forfeited estates.

Soon after, however, the real character of those acts of oblivion became apparent. They proved to be scenic, merely having for their object the letting down softly a great potentate and near relative of the Royal House. For John's next step was a "voluntary" surrender to the Crown of the Earldom of Ross, the lands of Kantyre, Knapdale, Urquhart, Glenmoriston, etc., with all the castles thereto belonging. In return for this abnegation of honours and territory, John was created by the King a Baron Banrent and a peer of Parliament by the title of Lord of the Isles. The Earldom of Ross was now in perpetuity annexed to the Crown, striking a fatal blow to the power and grandeur of a family that had in fact justified every apprehension which their acceding to the additional territories had occasioned.

The vast properties forming the Province, on their reversion to

the Crown, were entrusted to such local men as were found fit for the position. Thus, under the nominal and temporary Chamberlainship of the Earl of Sutherland, South Ross was, with suitable encouragements, placed under the control of Alexander, the Upright, VI. Chief of the Mackenzies; North Ross, together with the administrative offices, under that of John, XV. Baron of Fowlis; positions retained by members of that house well into the reign of James VI.

By special grace of the King, John of the Isles having no legitimate son, the succession was granted to Angus Og, whom failing to his brother, John; the former about that time becoming the son-in-law of the Duke of Argyle.

Angus Og, a typical Highland chieftain, had, as we saw, an early initiation in rebellious ways, and his father was soon made to feel that the lessons he then taught were capable of being practised upon himself.

This ill-conditioned cub at an early age made it appear that the feelings proper to a son, or even the habits incumbent upon a gentleman had no place in his system, for, finding the disturbed condition of the Islands conducing to his ambition, he assumed their administration and reduced his father to the condition of a cypher.

A word on these disturbances. Oblivious of his straits, the sacrifices made in 1476 by John of the Isles were fiercely resented by his subordinate chieftains, in whose eyes the blunder which occasioned them was the most meritorious of acts, while he gave them additional reasons for disaffection in dissipating portions of his estates by grants of lands to such other septs as the Macleans, the Macleods, and the Macneils. Thus the vassals came to be divided into two factions; one comprehending those just mentioned, the other, the malcontents who made common cause with the turbulent heir.

This individual had also on his hands a feud with the rising Kintail family, for not only had they become suddenly great by grants out of the forfeited Earldom, but for reasons to be given later on, Kenneth, virtually chief, had seen fit to repudiate his wife, Lady Margaret, half sister of Angus Og, the latter considering that both grievances going together formed a valid reason for

invading, and if possible dispossessing the Mackenzies of their recent acquisitions. He accordingly at the head of a large force marched into Ross, encountered the Mackenzies at Lagebread (Lag 'a bhraid), somewhere about where Conan House now stands, and defeated them with considerable loss. In consequence of this victory the insurrection assumed such formidable proportions that the central Government had to interfere; they employed a large force which included the fighting men of Inverness, which, surprising the Macdonalds at Drumderfit, killed many and drove the remainder out of Ross.

After this the Earls of Argyle and Athole endeavoured, but without success, to effect a reconciliation between John de Isla and his rebellious son; indeed their interference appears to have but intensified the unseemly quarrel, for next year the partizans on either side came to actual blows. The fight took place in Mull, not far from Tobermory, and is often referred to in the books as the battle of the Bloody Bay, in which the adherents of John were completely defeated. These books also relate many unsavoury incidents in the history of Angus Og, all of which we shall pass over except the last and most satisfactory—his death. He had come to Inverness accompanied by a strong party, and with the avowed object of intercepting and destroying his assumed enemy, "Alexander the Upright," Chief of the Mackenzies, that excellent person being then on his way home from Edinburgh, but he was himself assassinated by an Irish harper, one of his own followers. May the sod on that clarsar's grave continue green!

CHAPTER VIII.

GREGORY, on whose generally reliable volume we have drawn for a number of the foregoing as well as the following particulars, complains sadly of the chaos as to dates into which the annals of the period under review had fallen, holding it accountable for any misplacing of events which might occur. We also, in our turn, must, perforce, record a similar plea. Indeed, with the exception of that incident which directly led to the suppression of the Lordship of the Isles, probability is all that may be looked for in the placing of the others.

The removal of Angus Og permitted John de Islay to resume that management of affairs which his own feebleness of character and the law-lessness of, his chieftains permitted, and as a first step he proceeded to settle the succession. Angus's illegitimate brother, John, having died some time previously, it naturally fell upon Alexander of Lochalsh, Celestine Macdonald's son, an individual, in most respects, it must be conceded, the counterpart of the unlamented Angus, and the inheritor besides of his policy towards the House of Kintail. As will presently be seen, it was to this individual's performances (which, it is believed, had the connivance of John de Islay himself) that the crowning family disaster was mainly due, though, notwithstanding, his personal estates remained intact.

The details of the conjugal difficulty referred to in the last chapter now call for narration.

In that place it was cursorily mentioned that Kenneth, Master of Kintail, had become the husband of Lady Margaret of the Isles. Confessedly, the marriage in question was one of policy. The Mackenzies were then in existence for more than a century; they had also, we know, taken part in the national wars with honour, but still, as the thing was then understood, barely ranked as gentlemen, and were open to slights

similar to those which a modern manufacturer, newly become a laird, experiences from the neighbouring gentry whose ancestors fell at Bannockburn and Flodden. To marry into the Island Family, therefore, not only secured the coveted elevation, but also introduced noble and even Royal blood into the line. Thus induced, Kenneth became the son-in-law of John of the Isles. That nobleman, on the other hand, saw clearly that the Mackenzies were a rising family, that while they were a dour lot to encounter as enemies, they would form proportionably valuable allies, and, accordingly, gave his assent to the alliance. It must not, however, be supposed that the long series of injuries given and received by both parties were thereby condoned or forgotten.

Nor could it be said that the marriage was—as the term is usually understood—a happy one. Lady Margaret, who had a temper of her own, and no personal charms to speak of, and was besides blind of an eye and proud of her noble and royal blood, made it the subject of frequent lectures—a species of infliction which even the most patient of husbands is apt to tire of. Kenneth, on the other hand, felt that he was sacrificing much and getting credit for little, but concluded that the wisest course was to grin and make the best of domestic shortcomings.

During the period in which Angus Og was turning Island affairs upside down (probably in 1485), and Alexander of Lochalsh, merely a cousin with expectations, the latter individual resolved upon holding his Christmas in Balconie Castle; that place, the jointure house of the Countess of Ross, as a matter of courtesy, being still left in the hands of the Island Family. The Castle has never been of large dimensions and at that period was not in the best of repair, yet he invited thither a disproportionate number of guests, his cousins, Kenneth Mackenzie and the Lady Margaret included. We shall give an account of the brawl which followed, in abridged form, as narrated by the Clan historian, without, however, vouching for all the details.

The aged Chief, Alexander the Upright, and his son, Kenneth, Master of Kintail, then occupied the old hunting-house of the Earls, built upon an island in Loch Kinnellan, and the latter did not arrive at Balconie until Christmas Eve, accompanied after the manner of the period by forty well armed men, but without his lady, which appears to have given great umbrage to his host. One of the Macleans of Duart, it seems, had the chief control of the arrangements, and some days

previously-it is not stated where-certain games being in course of celebration, he had an altercation with Kenneth. On the present occasion he said to the Master that being so near a relative he had taken the liberty of assigning the kiln to himself and his followers as a lodging-This sordid arrangement, unquestionably due to Maclean's ill-will, Kenneth felt to be an insult, and was so stung that he on the instant felled Maclean to the ground. He being an important vassal of the Island Family, the numerous retainers about looked on this assault as an act of war on their leige Lord, and at once drew their swords. Kenneth and his men, however, escaped to the shore, manned the boats always there, crossed the firth, and the next day returned to Kinnellan. To his father (and to that excellent person's great annoyance) he related what had occurred, and in view of the power possessed by the Macdonalds of making heavy reprisals, felt not a little disturbed himself. On the fourth day thereafter he had intimation of what was in store. His father and himself were summoned by Alexander to remove with all their effects from Kinnellan, fire and sword being the alternative, while the Lady Margaret had permission to remain there as long as she had a mind. Kenneth, reckless of consequences, and without consulting his father, replied that both would remain in Kinnellan as long as they pleased in spite of him. As for the Lady Margaret, since his family had resolved to drive him to extremities, he would send her back to themselves, which he accordingly did under circumstances of studied insult.

Though in this repudiation Kenneth cannot be justified, it is at the same time plain that the feelings proper to a gentleman, not to speak of the good will usually subsisting among relations were entirely absent from Alexander Macdonald's character, nor could the former be blamed for seeing in the whole incident a deliberate attempt to humiliate and ruin his family. The feud between the Macdonalds and the Mackenzies in this manner rekindled, formed, as we already saw, the principal motive for Angus Og's bloody inroad. It also lay at the root of the inroad of 1591 by Alexander Macdonald, Angus Og's successor, with which we are now concerned.

In that year Alexander set out, we are told, at the head of the two branches of the Clan Donald, having as allies the Clans Cameron and Chattan, the latter under Farquhar Macintosh. On reaching Inverness

from the south-west, this Chief stormed and took the Castle, in which he placed a garrison. The whole force then crossed Kessock, raided without mercy the fertile possessions of the Urquharts (from Culbo to Cromarty) and carried thence a vast quantity of booty. The accounts at this stage show an all but inextricable confusion. They allege, and we cannot doubt the fact that Alexander raided the Mackenzie district of Strathconon, a thing incredible, except during his descent on the Machair. If that is allowed the probability is that he was not present with the freebooters who took Inverness Castle, and sacked the Sheriffdom of Cromarty. It will also be remembered that his main objective was the destruction of the Kintail Family, then located at Kinnellan, and to which end even raiding would be subsidiary. Our conclusion, therefore is, that with 1500 men he had descended by the same route as his great-grandfather when on his way to the Harlaw, a view furthered strengthened by the fact that on the day preceding the battle he halted at Contin, the church of which place, wherein a number of old men, women and children had taken sanctuary, he burnt to the ground. This act of inhumanity was duly remembered next day!

To oppose this great force, Kenneth Mackenzie got together between 700 and 800 men—the Clan were not then in South Ross the power they afterwards became—but without abating heart or hope, he resolved to bide the onset.

Personally, Kenneth was a redoubtable combatant, and was in consequence accorded the alias he still bears in the Family annals—Coinnich a Bhlar (Kenneth of the Battle), but personal valour is by no means always associated with great strategic talent, therefore, the position adopted on this occasion, indicating, as it did, the presence of a born general, was in all probability chosen by someone else, and from his subsequent and similar achievements we, at least, have no difficulty in assigning it to his half-brother, Hector ("Eachin Ruagh"), the eponymus of the still prosperous Gairloch Family. Since, as a result, the Macdonalds were not so much defeated as exterminated, it will be allowed that the generalship in question was of more importance to the Mackenzies than a reinforcement of a thousand men.

Inasmuch as this celebrated Clan fight directly led to no less important an event than the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, it has received due mention from historians, great and small, but none of them

to this hour has given an intelligible account of the strategy by which it was won, or even described the ground upon which it was fought. The Earl of Cromartie in his gossipy and unreliable history, with those who quote him as an authority, says that the scene was a large moor, but he does not say where it lay, if indeed he knew. Gregory writes that it was situated near Conon, and that the Macdonalds were taken by surprise. Now, if it be allowed that the surprise in question resembled that of the Shikari, who in hunting for deer, found himself hunted and devoured by a tiger; that the battle was not fought near Conon; and, that the battle-field at no period existed as a moor, these various accounts may be accepted as correct!

At that period, it would appear, the beautiful Coul policies consisted of an alder-grown moss-hag, interspersed jungle, forbidding all communications between Contin and Kinnellan, except by the line of the existing highway. Thus, while on their march, and shortly after passing the spot where the path now strikes off to Jamestown Free Church, the Macdonalds first saw the enemy-a mere handful apparently-drawn up about 400 vards away, on a rising ground (see photo view), while in front, in a depression 300 vards every way, lay what appeared to be a level grass-grown meadow, but in reality an immense quagmire, interspersed with numerous well-eyes, to which it owed its bottomless character. The "general" had besides strong parties concealed in the thickets on either flank, ready to fall on at the proper moment. Here, then, was the battle-field of the "Pairc," and permitting of accurate description from the fact that it has remained in the same state during the intervening centuries, until about forty years ago, when it was converted into indifferent pasture-ground at a great expense by draining operations.

Clearly, it was a position to turn, if that were possible, but on no account to attack in front; yet, it appears, that with the audacity of ruthless men, strong in numbers, the Macdonalds plunged forward in the usual mass formation, and not until hopelessly ingulfed and completely surrounded by their implacable enemies, did they realise how entirely they had given themselves into their hands. Being, however, valiant men, they stoutly defended themselves until all were slain, occasioning the death of a few of the Mackenzies, whilst among the severely wounded was Brodie of that Ilk, then visiting Kinnellan, and

who had resolved to stand by his hosts in their present quarrel. The Earl of Cromartie, professing to give details of this action, narrates a number of incidents and speeches, all in the Homeric vein, which, however, we do not think deserving of transcription.

Burton, with the insight pertaining to historical genius, has indicated for us the views held by successive governments regarding the Gaelie people, to the effect that should they exterminate each other a la the Kilkenny cats, the gain to the kingdom would be simply incalcul-So long, therefore, as Clan massacres were localised in the more remote districts, the occurrence was treated with indifference, it was only when the Machair, or the Laich, became involved that they occasioned any great anxiety. However the success of the Mackenzies at the battle of the Pairc went far to alter all this. The character of the Mackenzies-that is of the septs owning allegiance to the House of Kintail was, for a Highland Clan, good; that of the more numerous Macdonalds, the worst possible, but that fight had demonstrated that the race was not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, for with half their numbers, the former not merely defeated but annihilated their aggressors. The news was pronounced good, and forthwith induced the Government to formulate a double policy—the further raising of the Mackenzies at the expense of the Macdonalds, and the extinction of the Island Lordship as an anachronism.

From the State documents it is not clear how far John de Islay was implicated in the proceedings of his late son and nephew; whatever the Government knew they kept to themselves. There can, however, be little doubt that in their eyes the main offence lay in his manifest inability to keep his barbarous chieftains in order, nor can we doubt but that the contemplated forfeiture was also meant to teach these last, by an object lesson impossible to misunderstand, that a power equal to the task of humbling the head was more than sufficient to amputate the members. Accordingly, in the Parliament which met in May, 1493, John, fourth and last Lord of the Isles, was declared to have forfeited his title and estates. In the following January he waited upon the king, and made a formal surrender of both, after which he appears for a time, along with his wife, as members of the king's household; next making the Abbey of Paisley, often enriched by his bounty, his chief home. He died five years later. One account of the fact, long

current, states that he died in the Abbey, and at his own request was buried in the tomb of his ancestor Robert II. It has, however, been relegated to the limbo of myths by researches due to the authors of the History of the Clan Donald. From these, it would appear, that he took to wandering among the scenes of his former grandeur, very much in the guise of a common tramp, and finally, in the year mentioned he died in Dundee in a common lodging-house, his burial expenses, as the Records show, having to be paid by the Exchequer.

Thus, after running a course of well-nigh three centuries, and conspicuous even among our Scottish nobility for turbulence, this line of mighty Highland potentates came to an end. It sprang into existence by having afforded valuable aid to the monarchy, but subsequently was as often ranged among its enemies as among its friends; it had become an anachronism long before the monarchy had attained its precarious establishment, and in the person of its last head, ended like that of the meteor career of Buckingham—

"In the worst inn's worst room!"

As a factor in social progress, it is confessedly difficult to appraise at even its approximate value the Earldom of Ross, either before or after its becoming connected with the Lordship of the Isles. The Earls were, of course, too powerful to allow of any tyranny but their own, but from the character of several, we may feel sure it did not lack severity, though no record exists of the relations which subsisted between rulers and ruled. In other words, the actual history of the people of the Province down to a comparatively recent period cannot be given. As Hallam says (Hist. M.A., 564), "This" (the condition of the people) "like many others relating to the progress of society, is a very obscure inquiry. We can trace the pedigrees of princes, fill up the catalogue of towns besieged and provinces desolated, describe the whole pageantry of coronations and festivals, but we cannot recover the genuine history of mankind. It has passed away with slight and partial notice by contemporary writers, and our most patient industry can hardly at present put together enough of the fragments to suggest a tolerably clear representation of ancient manners and social life." We, too, when relating the story of the local Earldom have become familiar with sieges and sackings, but with little tending to discourage evil doing or to encourage those who did well, so that, on the whole, and so far as social progress is concerned, it is to be feared the vice-royalty in question existed as a social institution in the sense only of being superior to anarchy.

Some years ago a sensational paragraph went the round of the newspapers, announcing a claimant (his name was not given) to the Earldom of Ross, the news of its annexation in perpetuity to the Crown three hundred years before not having up to that time reached the paragraphist in question. It, however, served to amuse those who knew that no lapse had taken place with respect to that title, which of course forms one of the dormant honours of the Great Queen Victoria (may God bless her) and will do so until she ceases to reign, when it will pass, with the Crown to the Prince of Wales, already Lord of the Isles. He will then become Earl of Ross, unless he bestows it upon his second son, as provided for by an express Act of Parliament. (See Earl of Cromartie's letter in Apendix).

Subsequent to the forfeiture the Province supplied new titles under old names to several members of the Royal Family in succession. 1487 James Stewart, second son of James III., was created Duke of Ross, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Ardmannach, and Lord of Brechin and Navar. On the 13th May, 1603, having obtained the rich Abbey of Dunfermline, he resigned the Dukedom of Ross into the hands of the king, reserving for life the Thingvallr, or Mote Hill of Dingwall, for the style of Duke; the Hill of Ormond (on the Rosehaugh property) for the style of Marquis; the Red Castle of Ardmannach for the style of Earl; and the Castle of Brechin for the Lord of Brechin and Navar. He died in the following year. The next Duke of Ross was Alexander Stewart, posthumous son of James IV. He was born on 30th April, 1514, and died on the 18th December, 1515. During the reign of Queen Mary of Scots, John, Earl of Sutherland, then Chamberlain of the Earldom, aspired to the title as well, but notwithstanding the influence of the Queen Regent, the project being distinctly illegal fell Previous to his marriage with Mary, Lord Darnley to the ground. was created Earl of Ross, a title by which he was little known, for soon afterwards he obtained the greater rank of Duke of Albany and King of Scotland. The last person, it appears, who bore the historic title was King Charles I., who, soon after his birth, was created Duke of

Albany, Marquis of Ormond, and Earl of Ross, and had the revenues of the Province, along with those of Dunfermline, assigned to him as income.

As became a Royal Comes, or County Palatine, Ross had assigned to it, at what date is uncertain, appropriate functionaries; a Ross Herald, and, presumably on account of its Royal Castle, a Dingwall Pursuivant, officials who continued members of the Lord Lyons College —to the frequent bewilderment of local antiquaries—down to 1867, when it was reorganised, and they ceased to exist. The Pursuivant seems to have exercised similar functions to our messengers-at-arms, the Dingwall man acting for Ross proper, his Ormond brother for the Black Isle. Their official dress was a tabard, but it had to be worn like a cape. The Herald, with tabard worn in the orthodox manner, had to attend when the king was present within his jurisdiction, superintend the funerals of the nobility and gentry, serve summonses for high treason, and publish Royal proclamations. "Fate," says the Lord Lyon (Rhind Lectures, November, 9th, 1898), "was not always kind to the Heralds, sometimes through their own fault, as in 1596, when two of them quarreled in their cups, and one John Gledstanes, nephew and heir to the laird of Quothquhan, in Lanarkshire, 'stikit' John Purdie, Ross Herald, for which he was ultimately beheaded."

In what remains of this chapter we shall give in condensed form all the information available of the fortunes subsequent to the Forfeiture of the famous Royal Fortress of Dingwall, where, from the days of the fourth Earl, these potentates lived, plotted, and held vice-regal state.

In the Exchequer Rolls for 1478 we find Sir John Munro of Fowlis occupying the position of Chamberlain of Ross, and charging himself with £5 of produce of the "ferme of Dingvale, levied on the assessment of the first term of the account." We otherwise know that Andrew Munro of Milton was hereditary Maor, or chief executive officer. From the Rolls we also learn that the granges, or as we would now term them, the "Mains," of the Earldom numbered five, viz., Delney, Balkney's, Kinnairdy—which then included all the Tulloch lands lying south of the district road in rear of the Castle—Tynewet (the farm of Charleston probably), with Kessock and Kynellane; while the rents accruing to the Crown for all together amounted to 198 chalders victual, 102 merts, and 98 sheep yearly.

In 1488, however, we find James Dunbar of Kinnook (Flowerburn), Chamberlain of the Duchy of Ross, and Custodier of the Castle of Dingwall, having as his fee 100 merks per annum, with the produce of the dominical farm of Kinnairdie. In 1493 the Royal Castle was honoured by a visit from James IV., as may be seen from the recorded copy of a charter he there granted on October 25. In 1504, m, anticipation of a visit from "The Lord King James," we find that immense preparations were in progress there, a large supply of fuel and peats and of meal being especially mentioned. That monarch had been north in the previous year, and had visited Inverness, Dingwall, and Elgin, and among other things expended 24 bolls corn, for his horses no doubt, a receipt being given for the same by Robert Rankyn, chaplain to the Chamberlain, Lord Moray. There must have been a second visit on the 10th and 11th of October of that year, which occasioned very considerable expense indeed. We have first an item of £13 in cash; in kind there were consumed four merts, and one chalder eight bolls of oats; while the carpenters, masons, and smiths employed in making the preparations had as wages 79s. in cash, a chalder of flour, eight bolls of barley, and ten bolls of oatmeal. The king, it would appear, found that after all the accommodation it afforded to his numerous suite was insufficient, for he ordered a hall to be added to the Castle, granting an instalment of cash for this purpose amounting to £,20, the Earl of Argyle witnessing to the fact. The hall, however, was not quite finished until 1507.

In the latter year James IV., in two separate charters, appointed Andro, Bishop of Caithness, his Chamberlain and Captain of the lands of Ross and Ardmannach, and keeper of the Royal Castles of Dingville in Ross, and Red Castle in Ardmannach, with all the fees and pertinents; giving him commission to see to it that the infeftments of the tenants in those districts were correct.

That functionary had at the same period a further grant for three years of "the Conane and all other fishings in the Lordship of Ross and Ardmannach, for the yearly payment of four lasts of salmon, "full rede and suete, 2000 keling (cod), sufficient merchcandise to be delivered free on the shore of Leith, from Dingville to Leith."

In 1511 the king granted to the same bishop, then his treasurer, "for grate soumes of money given by him to the Kingis Hienes, and

utheris grate service and expens maid to his pleasour for two terms of nine years, any Act of Parliament to the contrary notwithstanding; the lands and Lordship of Ross and Ardmannach, with the castles, woods, etc., etc.," and all powers with that of holding Courts; these the king partly granted as ways and means for keeping in repair the two Castles aforesaid, and to be held by him until \mathcal{L} 1000 should be paid to him on one day by any of the king's successors who might desire possession of the same. As will appear further on, the bishop must have died about the time the first nine years terminated, but it is extremely doubtful whether he ever handled a penny of the capital sum.

His detailed reports—through his deputy, or receiver—are still extant, in one of which he notes an attempt made by Red Hector, Tutor of Kintail, to make the Castle his own, but that, by the blessing of heaven, he was defeated, and then goes on to detail the pay of the garrisons, and his exports to Court of the rents in kind forming the leading items, but in 1515 a great shortage in these had to be referred to, occasioned by the incursions of lawless Highlanders (the Macdonalds, under Sir Donald of Lochalsh) Next year (1516), showed a further deficit, the resources set apart for the defence of the two Castles proving insufficient he had, he said, to draw upon the Royal rents for the supply of both men and material if these strongholds were not to suffer surprise. Additional defence works—especially at Dingwall -had to be undertaken, and are described as "buying a certain perch of land, for bringing the 'pit' through the said perch of land to the Castle." These terms of ancient engineering are beyond us! He had, besides, to buy engines of war, "callit serpentines, hagbuttis, culveringis," and the powder "callit Lezgunpulder, hand-bowis, arrows, halberts, leith-axes, jeddart staves, and mony utheris thingis necessar for the safe custody of the said Castles." Provisions had also to be provided and stored for the sixty men-at-arms constituting the garrison, and the mechanics employed during the 56 weeks the disturbance lasted. The Castle termed the Red, had to be kept on a war footing for over two whole years, the Macdonalds dying hard.

We find that from 1518 to 1522, John, Earl of Athole, held the office of Chamberlain, but no incident calling for remark occurred during that period.

In 1523, John, Earl of Moray, brother of the king, was assigned the post by letters patent, but while his administration lasted nothing occurred calling for remark, except that during his first year of office he had to be allowed £60 towards capturing and ridding the Province of theires and robbers—probably the Macdonalds, under Donald Gorme—a hint serving to indicate that Ross was by no means the sleepy hollow as regards crime it was to become.

The same nobleman retained the office until at least 1535, the date to which the publication of the Exchequer Rolls extends.

Between this date and 1561 we find Sir David Sinclair frequently referred to in the Records as keeper of the Castles of Dingwall and Ardmannach, but in the year just mentioned, Queen Mary, soon after her arrival in Scotland, appointed George Munro of Davoch-carte, her Bailie and Chamberlain over her lands of Ross and Ardmannach, with full powers, which appointment was seven years after confirmed by James VI., and to continue during the pleasure of the Regent and the King.

In March, 1584, the Castle of Dingwall became divested of its Royal character-showing that the Machair of Ross had settled into law-abiding habits. In that year the king granted Sir Andrew Keith, a near relative of the Earl Marischal, in requital of many services at home and abroad, the Castle of Dingwall, its buildings, feufermes, and dues and services; the superiority of the Burgh of Dingwall, the burgh ferms, the demense lands commonly called Kinnairdie, the lands of Glakkis (much of the Woodlands and Uplands farms), which were the fourth part of the demense lands, and the lands of Dalmaloak (low grounds of Kinnairdie), contained in the previous grant—that is, included in Kinnairdie-to be united into one free Lordship and Barony, to be called the Lordship of Dingwall, with a seat in Parliament; the Castle to be the chief messuage, and the grantee to pay one silver penny yearly on the Feast of Pentecost, for the subjects enumerated. It is well known that on attaining his majority King James effected a wholesale repudiation of grants made under the Regency, but the foregoing was excepted, and a charter of confirmation was granted to Lord Dingwall. In 1584 the king further granted to Lord Dingwall the lands of Drumglust (Dunglass), but in this case for a sufficient consideration in the form of rent: £6 18s. in cash, one chalder two

bolls oatmeal, one chalder two bolls oats, six marts, six sheep, thirteen reek (fat) hens, and 24s. of bondage silver. Part of his perquisites as keeper of the Castle were 8o loads of peats, to be furnished annually by the lands of Drumdervith and Wester Kessock.

We are told in the Clan History of the Mackenzies that in 1529, Colin, Lord Kintail, had acquired the Castle and lands of Dingwall with the view of erecting his principal messuage upon the historic site, and that by the advice of Sir Rory Mackenzie, Castle Leod, Brahan, was ultimately chosen.

We have seen that in their eagerness to pick up unconsidered trifles in the form of real estate, and previous to this date, the Mackenzies of Kintail attempted to convey the Castle in question, but, as we also saw, the militant Andro, Bishop of Caithness, then in possession, effectually beat off the aggressor. The Records, moreover, are silent regarding any legal acquisition by Colin of Kintail of the Castle of Dingwall, though his predatoriness with respect to that of Channonry occupies pages of these veracious chronicles. Nay, more, at the date in question, a second Lord Dingwall was in actual possession of the subjects, viz., Sir Richard Preston, Earl of Desmond in Ireland. It would appear that Keith had died some time before 1614, leaving no issue, for in that year the above nobleman was nominated to the Barony of Dingwall by the king, and is named among the members of that Parliament held under his authority in 1624. Plainly, therefore, Colin, Lord Kintail, never owned a stone thereof.

Up to that year at least we find that the Castle of Dingwall, besides affording a residence to the lord in possession, was also utilized as a general prison for the south, as well as the north of Scotland. Under date December 3rd, 1622, in the Privy Council Records, we find a notorious female brawler, named Bessie Key, compearing before that body, charged at the instance of Archibald Primrose and John Fowlis, Privy Council officials, with serious offences of the tongue. She had previously, for a similar crime, been six years a prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and now for another lapse had to appear as stated. The Lords find that Bessie Key has behaved herself "unworthily against Prymrose and Fowlis, and their wives, children and servantis, not only by uttering a number of scandalerous and disgraceful speeches against thame, and by casting stones at thair doors and windows, but threatting

of thair bairnis and servandis with forder injurie." She, however, obtained her liberty on becoming bound to give no more trouble to the complainers on pain of "being scourgit through the said burgh of Edinburgh, or perpetually wardit." On account of a renewal of the offence she, for the last time, appeared before the Privy Council in March, 1624, but is let off on again becoming bound not to offend, "and consents, if she does so, to be imprisoned at Dingwall, and fed upon bread and water for a year: wherefore the Lords order the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh, upon her first misdemeanour, to commit her to the Castle of Dingwall accordingly." It is of some interest to the citizens of the County Town to know that in the 17th century, a threat of being "taken to Dingwall," was to the ill-doers of Edinburgh a terror similar to what it is at the end of the 19th to those of Channonry and Avoch!

When the second Lord Dingwall passed over to the majority we know not, but it is clear that previous to 1633 the Fowlis Family were in possession of both the Kinnairdies, and before joining the armies of Gustavus Adolphus, in which, in that year, he died of his wounds, Robert XIX., or Black Baron (an alternative term for black sheep of his line), erected that bridge over the Peffery which still bears his name. The Family still retain possession by charter of the bridge, with the view, it is believed, of indicating in a manner not to be mistaken that their possessions at one period extended to that point. We, however, learn from the Origines Parochiales, that soon after that date they exchanged these lands with the Bains of Tulloch, for the possessions of the latter in Croic.

In a manner not explained, the Castle of Dingwall, with its offices and grounds, were acquired and retained by William Munro of Ardullie, while it would also appear that the office of custodier still adhered to the owner of the dominical farm of Kinnairdie, and was transmitted with these lands by the Bains to the Davidsons, their successors. The salary, however, did not exceed 30s. of our money.

By the middle of the 18th century the Castle had become a complete ruin, was utilised by the townspeople as a quarry, and, doubtless, the existing Municipal Buildings were built out of its materials. Later in the century it again emerges into notice. Through his mother, a daughter of that William Munro of Ardullie referred to, these subjects passed into the hands of the Rev. Colin Mackenzie, minister of Fodderty, and were then valued at £300. That gentleman, with a sympathy for its working people which no Dingwall man should forget, assigned ruin and lands in trust to Henry Davidson of Tulloch, towards aiding a project which that gentleman had in contemplation of erecting a factory of some kind, where they might be profitably employed. (Hist. Clan Mackenzie). It is needless to add that the trust in question was never implemented, but even at this late hour it might be worth while inquiring whether the ignoring of the provisions of a trust deed for an indefinite period constitutes a title under the Statute of Limitations.

During the second decade of the present century a portion of the trust property was acquired by one of the more distinguished natives of the town, a Captain Donald Maclennan, who, as commander of an armed merchant-man, proved himself worthy of being ranked with those seadogs who, during the Napoleonic Wars, made Britain the mistress of the seas. On, or near the site of the famous Castle, he erected the modern castellated building, while preserving with pious care all that yet held together of the stronghold of the Maormores, and the Royal Earls of Ross.*

^{*}No better idea could be had of the modest degree of comfort, according to our ideas, with which even royalty in 1501 were contented, than can be had from the following "Indenture" or inventory of effects belonging to "Our most reverend Lord James, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Duke of Ross," housed in his castle of Dingwall, for which his Chamberlain, David Learmont, custodier of that place and the Red Castle, was made accountable:—"4 pairs sheets of broad Flanders cloth; 10 feather beds, new and old; 8 bolsters and 12 coddis (pillows); 12 brazen candlesticks and 2 chandeliers of the same metal; 36 pewter vessels, various sizes, and three chargers, weighing in all 80 lbs.; 14 linen dusters and towels; one damask broad tablecloth and two narrow; 6 cushions and one (illegible); 9 pots new and old, one little pan and a little chaldron; 5 spades, 2 rakes, 1 ladder, 1 creel, 17 beds, 9 tables with forms and trestles; 1 chaldron in brew-house, 2 mashing tuns, ane mair and ane less; 1 trough, 4 vats, 14 barrels and hogsheads in the cellers, 14 vats in the fish house (beer in quantity!); 4 great guns, and 2 culverines (cannon of small bore and of long range); 1 gridiron, 1 baking table, 11 spits." By way of salary, Learmont was to have per annum the produce of the granges of Kynardy, the Newton, (lands of Evanton), and Balconie; the dues leviable in kind at "mercats," and £10 16s, 10d., in money,

CHAPTER IX.

WE saw that previous even to the Battle of the Pairc the Mackenzies were treated by the national authorities as the residuary legatees of the Macdonalds, and on that footing were awarded handsome tracts in South Ross, but as a result of that action their acquisitions of the remainder proceeded at an ever-increasing rate, while it must also be admitted that their rule, though still leaving a large margin for improvement, contrasted favourably with that of the dispossessed Family. this period also must be ascribed the inception of that policy for which they became famous, of adding, and still adding, to the Family possessions, until at last-two centuries later-when their fortunes had culminated, these acquisitions all but rivalled those previously held by the Lords of the Isles themselves. This will be clear from the fact that not only had they spread over the whole of South Ross, over much of North Ross, over the greater part of the Black Isle, but also possessed the whole of the Lewis, a large cantle of Sutherlandshire, and a rich tract in Moray.

Obviously this wholesale accumulating of real estate at a period in which the chief law in existence was the law of the strongest, could not be done without incurring the Woe, denounced by the Ultimate Moral Authority against excessive territorial acquisitions. Nor was there on this occasion, as we shall see, an agent awanting to denounce the Woe and to formulate the doom, which after hanging over the House of Kintail for more than a century and a-half, had its literal fulfilment within the memories of persons still living!

The catastrophe in question has furnished abundant matter for speculation to the curious, learned and unlearned alike, but none of these, so far as we are aware, has had the courage to point out the ultimate causes; gross neglect of opportunities and flagrant transgression continued, as we shall see, for generations. The corrollary

hardly requires pointing out: the Soul of the Universe being Almighty and Just, peasant families as well as historic houses will infallibly reap that precise crop of misery of which their several misdeeds formed the corresponding seed.

The performances of the heads of the Kintail Family will necessarily fill a number of our pages, but we shall not depend for our facts upon their geneologists. These, for obvious reasons, devote their narratives to the splendours by which its Earls were environed, the rebellions they fostered, the tyrannies they supported, the battles they lost and won, and the regiments they raised, but with respect to their influence in elevating the moral tone of their dependants these men hold no brief, and are silent!

It will have been seen that Kenneth, the fighting man of Blar na Pairc, was not conspicuous for meekness or prudence, but all the same, for one Highland Chief of the period who was better there were dozens worse. He did not remain long in a widowed condition after repudiating Lady Margaret, and the method he adopted when procuring her successor was both unique and characteristic. At the head of a party he sped across to Lovat, surrounded the Castle, and demanded possession there and then of Mistress Agnes, daughter of Lord Lovat, and threatened in the event of a refusal to set the Castle on fire. Clearly the wooing in question was ardent enough to satisfy the most romantic young lady in the world, and it was successful. Lovat had no valid objection to offer, neither had Mistress Agnes, so after partaking of some refreshments, Kenneth, for the second time, returned triumphant to Kinnellan. The marriage continued for years of the Hand Fast order, but the Church was accessible to reason, and at length the union was blessed by the priest. Kenneth of the Battle lived but six years after this great achievement, leaving one son, Kenneth Og, by Lady Margaret, and at least one other, John, named of Killin, by Agnes Fraser.

Kenneth Og, a mere turbulent and precocious profligate, had barely come of age when he got into trouble with the Government, was apprehended, taken south, and while attempting to escape, was slain. He was thus succeeded by his half-brother, John of Killin, then a child, and necessarily his guardianship, with the control of the estates, developed upon our former acquaintance, Red Hector Mackenzie.

With respect to his management of Clan and property during the minority of his nephew, Hector Mackenzie resembled in several respects his more celebrated relative, Rory Mackenzie, the Toicher Tallach; both materially added to the Family reputation and position. As we saw, he attempted, in the name of his nephew, to obtain possession of the Castle of Dingwall, a sufficiently lawless act; doubt his motive being that that place of strength would, since the Macdonalds were continuing their inroads, fall more appropriately to a warlike Clan than to a shaveling priest; but by the blessing of heaven on the "culveringis, etc.," wherewithal the millitant bishop had garnished it, the Red Man was effectively beaten off. Latterly, however, he assailed the Red Castle, then held by Kilravoch, as commissioner for the king, took and kept possession of house and estates until after the customary manner, lawless possession was condoned (1608) by a royal charter. Before the condonation, however, had taken place, Kilravock complained to the Earl of Huntly, the Lieutenant of the North, who granted letters of fire and sword, "to harrie, spulzie, and slay the Clan Kanzie, as the kingis rebelis, and oppressioneris of the leiges." There is reason to believe that from the first, and like many others, the commission in question existed but as wastepaper. The Clan historian gravely tells us that Hector commanded the Clan at Sauchieburn; he might as well since he was about it have added, at Troy! It is certain that it was he who led it at Flodden, nor have we any doubt that if he commanded the entire army there would have been no disaster to occasion the composition of one of the most pathetic of national dirges.

But the feat of generalship by which he is best remembered, and which must have occurred shortly before demitting his Tutorship, was the skirmish of Bealach 'n Cor, in which the Munros, who were the aggressors, and greatly superior in force, suffered a total defeat. As this action, and the circumstances by which it was induced, are eminently illustrative of the manners of the period, we shall here, succinctly, but we hope intelligibly, lay them before the reader.

Hector appears to have had enemies, perhaps deservedly; at all events he contrived to make enemies of the geneologists of the Clan. According to these John of Killin stands forth as a full-grown Babe of the Wood, while the Red Man figures as the Wicked Uncle,

attempting to deprive him of his inheritance, but the Good Fairies having made the case of the Babe their own, the Uncle's plans miscarry. The facts, however, are, that the Tutor did not resign his functions sufficiently prompt to gratify the impatience of his ward, or the schemes of that ward's grandfather, Lord Lovat; though as another element in the delay, it might have occurred to Hector that he himself had a better right to the estates than the son of his brother's irregular wife. These writers cannot, however, deny that ultimately he did place his nephew in full possession, which, when the period, and the undoubted resources of the man is considered, is saying a great deal.

While Hector was hesitating Lord Lovat had interest enough with the Duke of Ross to procure a Clare Constat in favour of his grandson, and seisin thereon in the hands of Sir John Barchaw, his chamberlain, and Sir William Munro of Fowlis, bailie of the Duke, which the latter gentleman, on account of a long-standing feud, or jealousy existing between the respective Clans, had a personal as well as an official interest in enforcing. He accordingly proceeded to Kinnellan with a strong posse, did not find Mackenzie at home, but with the view of showing in a practical way that the Fowlis eagle had acquired sharp talons, not only served his papers, but took with him, not a couple, as Lord Tarbat absurdly says—a proceeding which would take down the whole roof-but one of the two "corichen" from the Kinnellan barn. (It will be remembered that in those days, houses as well as barns were thatched with heather, which, to prevent its being carried away by high winds, was secured by a network of ropes made out of the same material. Said network was, in the first instance, formed by a rope securely fastened to two stout cabers—the "corichin"—attached by tree nails (craun tarrin) to the outermost couples, and extending a foot or more above the thatch. That ridge rope furnished a basis for the remaining ropes, more than a foot apart, each of which was weighted by a suitable stone. Thus to remove a cor, a stick about eight feet long merely served to expose the thatch and what it protected to wind and rain, but in no degree endangered the more important parts).

On his return, Hector at once discerned the symbolic meaning and manifest policy indicated by the act, and as reckless of consequences as Coinnich 'm Blar himself, instantly dispatched a wrathful reply, couched, however, in guarded and ironical terms. Sir William was



BEALACH 'N COR.



told that a visit of an official character should not have been paid when the person so honoured was known to be from home; but as there still remained a cor to appropriate, on his making a second visit he would be sure to meet with a suitable reception. The message was meant to be, and was duly accepted, as a declaration of war, though it is not easy to see how Sir William should so far forget his official position as to engage in the overt act. The Earl of Cromarty states that he forthwith collected 900 men, which, from our knowledge of the writer, as well as of the population to be drawn from, we shall take the liberty of reducing by two-thirds, again proceeded to Kinnellan, and again found that the person sought was from home. As if to show that he had come, saw, and conquered, he failed not to take the remaining cor with him, and turned homewards.

But where was Eachin Ruagh during this second and challenged visit? A very keen-eyed Munro, if he had chanced to look that way might have noticed something unusual on the summit of the precipitous hill to the east, possibly the glinting of steel under the setting sunthat something was our friend Hector, with such followers as he could collect in the neighbourhood, in all amounting to about 150 men, or about half the number under Sir William's command.

By occupying that position Hector Mackenzie displayed in the clearest manner that strategic talent with which he had been credited. From there the various movements of the Munros could be distinctly seen, and, in particular, the line of their homeward march—which he intended should be a bloody one—clearly ascertained. Here it is proper to mention that from Kinnellan there were two routes; that taken, as we saw, by Donald of the Isles, and the ordinary highway, which, from the fords of the Black Water, ascended through the modern township of Jamestown, through the Pass, named since that day Bealach 'n Cor, along the north of Loch Ussie, by Drum a Chat, and down Knockbain. Hence, as soon as the particular route was adopted, Hector could in a few minutes so place his men as to enable him to fall upon the enemy's flank with all the moral advantage a surprise and a vigorous charge amid the deepening gloom afforded.

As already hinted, the route adopted by Sir William was by the highway and Pass, and while threading its jaws the Mackenzies with a yell and the impetus afforded by the higher ground, fiercely assailed his flank. The surprise and panic of the Munros was complete, and there is no reason to doubt but that they fell under the swords and axes of their assailants like ripe grain before the scythe. Of course, no other description of this celebrated Clan fight is possible. The Earl of Cromarty, indeed, volunteers a number of details, but these, since obviously products of the imagination, serve rather to weaken the effect produced by the leading facts.

The Earl, who is greater in Homeric dialogue than matters of fact, says that the fight took place at Knockfarrel. It certainly did not. As we have endeavoured to show, it was fought two miles further to the west, and is to this day, with the farm adjacent, known as Bealach 'n Cor. This fatal encounter taught the Munros, in a manner they never forgot, that a power had arisen in South Ross with which they were unable to cope, and that for the future, family alliances which they failed not to adopt, was the preferable course.

The foregoing onfall was in all probability Red Hector's last official act as Tutor, or guardian to his nephew. He had obtained, in 1494, from James IV. such rights as a charter under the great seal could bestow to certain lands in Gairloch, then in the hands of a family of the disreputable Macleods, whom he in due time improved off the face of the earth; which lands, with many handsome additions, remain in the hands of his prudent descendants to this day.

The exact date at which John of Killin entered into possession we have failed to ascertain, that given in the Clan History being, on the face of it—well—misleading. His character as Chief, though not distinguished for gratitude, is, on the whole, good. During the Dukedom the guardianship by the House of Kintail had terminated, but in 1539, by Act of Council, their reappointment in the person of John of Killin, took place, Donald Gorm of Sleat beginning to give trouble in that quarter and requiring to be looked after.

That truculent individual had served himself heir to the Lordship of the Isles, and in the hope that amid the political confusions of the period he could make his title good, made a bold move towards surprising Ellandonan Castle. That he did not succeed was in no degree owing to the preparations John had made for its defence, for the entire garrison consisted of but two men, but being alert fellows they managed to place the strong portcullis between themselves and their

assailants, while one of them, through the bars, succeeded in hitting the Island Chief in the heel with a barbed arrow, the extracting of which involved the severance of an artery, whereof in a few hours he died. This slaying of a public enemy at the hands of the Clan Mackenzie secured to their Chief a great meed of applause from the Government, and better still, a handsome cantle of territory, but if we are to believe the genealogists, the luckless archer was relegated to poverty and neglect.

In 1532 John of Killin had the honour of entertaining James V. in Ellandonan Castle, giving him also efficient aid while he was engaged in bringing the Island Chieftains to answer for their turbulence; and in 1547, when well up in years, he commaned the Clan at the disastrous Battle of Pinkie. Here he was taken prisoner, and from the fact that the whole body of his dependents contributed towards his ransom, his character as a paternal Chief may be considered as established. It must also be mentioned to his credit that when ordered by that bad subject, the Earl of Huntly, to waste, for the gratification of his revenge, the estates of Macdonald of Moidart, John pointedly refused, thereby incurring for himself that powerful nobleman's hatred.

John of Killin died in 1561, and was succeeded by his son, Kenneth, long his lieutenant, who thus brought to the duties of Chief much previous routine knowledge.

During the year following his accession he, together with the Chief of the Munros—his brother-in-law—joined Queen Mary's forces at Inverness, and held himself ready to put her, by force, in possession of the Castle, the use of which she was refused by a partizan of the Earl of Huntly. As a result of the Battle of Langside, Colin and his men were made prisoners, and to the perpetual mortification of the genealogists, they had to accept pardon at the hands of "the insolent Regent" for simply doing what they felt to be their duty. Thus at "The Parting of the Ways" the Chief and Clan became identified with the cause the unfortunate Queen represented, and lost, with serious consequences, their first opportunity of forwarding the infant cause of civil and religious liberty. Kenneth died at Killin, in 1568, and was succeeded by his son, Colin, the Callain Caum, or Colin, the one-eyed, of the genealogists.

But, as already hinted, during these years an organic moral force—the Reformation—was evidencing itself amid the choas of interests and passions which were distracting the Scottish people, while of its essential character as a factor in human progress, few of those amenable, or hostile to its influence, were able to estimate, and fewer still anticipated its results.

This unique upheaval peremptorily demanded, and indeed received attention from all classes; but for a time it was by no means clear whether the Old or the New Order was the likeliest to survive. former, no doubt, had secured for itself many enemies among the nobility, then the only class, except the Church itself, to be feared, and indeed most of its leading functionaries were recruited from among that order, but its vast wealth—the greater part of the kingdom—and its hideous corruption had, in fact, induced that hostility, and, moreover, nourished hopes of a prospective legateeship. A feasible excuse for the act of appropriation was, however, long awanting, but they acted on the belief that everything comes to them that wait, nor were they disappointed. The Reformation dawned: Hamilton among others made the voice of truth to be heard, but the executive then in ecclesiastical hands had to be reckoned with, the Establishment Principle was called into action, with the usual result that he and they had to seal their testimonies in blood. The hateful murder of one of their own order by a dominant and corrupt caste served to stimulate the nobility to fury, but they even had sufficient sense to see that for the time reprisals were inexpedient. The hour and the man in due time arrived. Knox appeared proclaiming the emancipating word to an expectant people, and forthwith the hoary, blood-stained superstition crumbled and fell. Thus, too, the long sought for excuse for spoilation and the fitting opportunity came together, and while busily engaged in enriching themselves the nobility also contrived to acquire for a time the title of reformers.

Of the transition from Popery to Protestantism in Ross there exists no record that we are aware of, though in no other Province was the Reformation more permanent or complete, facts that seem to indicate that in no other was there an equal reciptivity, or where its all-important subjective aspects were so clearly apprehended.

Evangelical views must herefore have continued to exist there in

a more or less comatose condition since the days of the Culdees, for then, through the breath of the Spirit of God accompanying the labours of Patrick Hamilton and others, the hot embers burst anew into flame, making short work of the wood, the hay, and the stubble which constituted Queen Margaret's improvements. It seems impossible on any other understanding to see how the return to what was substantially the doctrines of the Ancient British Church could be so rapid, deep, and permanent.

It will be proper here to indicate briefly the extent of the local Popish establishment and the character of the last two bishops who, contemporary with the Reformation period, ruled over the Province.

During the early days of the Reformation the bishopric of Ross was held by a Henry Sinclair, President of the Court of Session, and, according to the Diurnal of Occurrents, "as cunning and lettered a man as there was, of singular intelligence in theology, and likewise in laws." According to John Knox, on the other hand, "Ane perfect hypocrite and conjured (perjured) enemy of Jesus Christ." He died in Paris, while undergoing a painful surgical operation, and the removal from the scene at that period of one who, with the will, had from his position the power to strike hard, must, next to the Forfeiture of the previous century, be held as a favouring providential circumstance, by which the sucking lamb of the Reformation was saved from having its fleece dabbled with its own blood.

Popery was just ceasing to be the established religion of Scotland, and political intrigue dividing the field with the Gospel, when Sinclair was succeeded in the bishopric of Ross by a still abler functionary, John Lesley, secretary and ambassador to Mary Queen of Scots, and whom, by his sublety in counsel and action he was largely instrumental in bringing to the block. He had business talents as well. Finding that Church property was going into liquidation, he failed not, as soon as he found a customer in Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, to realise for his own behoof such of the Church's assets as still remained in his power. Nor did Colin fail to starve out of the Castle of Fortrose, Andrew Munro of Milton, who had previously received the subjects from The Good Regent for work honestly done.

We borrow the following graphic paragraphs from Hepworth Dickson's work on the Tower, wherein the portraits both of Lesley and

his royal mistress appear in a style which leaves little room for improvement:—

"From the hour of her stepping upon English soil Mary Stewart began to plot against Elizabeth's peace, and in all her plots she had the personal sanction of John Lesley, the able and learned Bishop of Ross, who became her agent, her confessor, and her spy. This bishop was a divine of the Spanish and Italian type; easy with fair sinners, facile with the great; never afraid of lying and deceit; and bent upon serving the Church, even should he have to do so at the peril of his soul. The inevitable catastrophe came. Lesley was caught in his own toils. . . . He was sent to the Tower. But in his chamber there he heard of men who had been racked until they told the truth, and when Burghley gave him forty-eight hours to consider what he would say, his strength broke down. Lesley answered the questions put to him with the frankness of a man who has done his best, and his worst, and looks back upon his course with consuming scorn. Never was a foul heart emptied of more perilous stuff. He explained everything. He confessed for Mary as well as for himself. He spoke of her privity to Darnley's murder, and he accused her of meaning to kill Bothwell as well. While in the Tower Lesley made a confession to Thomas Wilson, Doctor of Divinity, which that gentleman reports to Burghley in these words: - 'He said, further, upon speech I had with him, that the Queen, his mistress, is not fit for any husband; for first, she poisoned her first husband, the French King, as he had credibly understood; again, she consented to the murder of her late husband, the Lord Darnley; thirdly, she matched with the murderer and brought him to the field to be murdered; and last of all she pretends marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, with whom she would not long have kept faith, and the Duke would not have the best days with her!""

The English clergyman who reports the bishop's words can only add in comment: "What a Queen! and what an ambassador!".... As nothing more could be got out of Lesley he was suffered to depart from the Bloody Tower, on the understanding that he was to live abroad and trouble her Majesty no more.

As every one knows, the Cathedral of the Diocese was at Fortrose, where its remains sufficiently attest its former magnificence. There also stood the Episcopal Palace, or Castle, while minor residences for

the bishop's accommodation existed over the diocese—Castle Craig, for example—security rather than comfort being apparently the chief end contemplated by their architects.

The parishes forming the diocese at the period of the Reformation were as follows: -Ardersier, church of the Dean of Ross; Rosemarkie, church of the Chancellor of the Diocese; Avoch, church of the Cantor of the Cathedral; Killearnan, church of the Archdeacon; Tain, church of the Sub-Dean; Nigg, a mensal church of the bishop; Tarbat, the same; Rosskeen, a prebendary church; Cromarty, Kilmuir-Wester, Suddie, Kirkmichael, Cullicudden, Dingwall, Alness, Contin, Kinnettas, Fotterty, Kilmorac, Kiltearn, Lymlair, Urquhart, Loggie-Wester. Urray, Kirkchrist, Edderton, Fearn, Kilmuir-Easter, and Loggie-Easter. As completing the Roman Catholic Church establishment there were two monastic houses; the Abbey of Fearn, already referred to in our sketch of its founder, Farquhar second Earl of Ross; and the Priory of Beauly, founded in 1232, by Sir John Bisset of Lovat, for seven monks of the congregation of Valius Cautium of Val de Choux, a sub order of the Cistercians, who followed the rule of St Benedict. With respect to this foundation, the last Prior, succumbing to the inevitable, managed in 1558 to dispose of the properties for a consideration to the sixth Lord Lovat; but in 1716, they were forfeited by Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, who had married the heiress of Lovat, and they now exist as Crown property. It will have been observed that the parishes on the western seaboard, Glenshiel, Kintail, Lochcarron, Gairloch, and Lochbroom are not included in the foregoing list; these, with what churches existed in the Lewis, being then under the oversight of the Bishop of the Isles.

Instead of being deplored it is perhaps well that our information regarding the agencies employed in promoting the Reformation in Ross is in the last degree scanty. We are thus saved alike from hero worship and hero defamation; from over-exalting human instrumentalities and undervaluing the power of the right hand of God. The information to hand shows that opposition was not of a formidable character, though, as the sequel proved, with respect to the probable chief agent, the clerics in possession could be vindictive enough. This person—it almost amounts to a certainty—was the sainted Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Fearn, for otherwise it would be hard to account

for his being awarded the martyr's crown. Then, the date of his death synchronises with that of the last visit paid—under clerical instigation—by James V. to Tain, a monarch, though a relative, with whom Hamilton had few ideas in common, and to avoid whom, would go south, where we know he was decoyed into Fife, and there, by the orders of Cardinal Beaton, led to the stake.

In connection with this atrocious murder certain confusing statements occur in the historians' accounts which seem to call for rectification. George Chalmers describes Hamilton as a man of fervent zeal, but adds, that "he was condemned to the flames by a sentence rather harsh than illegal," citing the Black Acts—so termed—as the legal basis for the execution. Now, though as early as the reign of James I., Wycliffites were handed over to the executioner, and while in that of James V. threatenings were meted out against those holding "the damnable opinions of Luther," the Acts in question, as Chalmers himself shows, were not passed until 1535, or seven years subsequent to that in which Hamilton suffered. The inference is plain: this particular murder was the outcome of priestly vengeance for that fervent zeai of Hamilton's in his function as Abbot, while he suffered in defiance of the law of Scotland as it then stood.

With respect to the lay agency in that movement, no one in Ross has any doubts but that the House of Fowlis, and its numerous branches, were first, and the rest nowhere. Providentially, and long before, as we saw, and long after, as we shall see, as chief executive officers of the dormant Earldom, they were in a position as no other family were, either to retard or advance the cause of truth, the facts themselves The Earl of Sutherland affording sufficient proof of their influence. being a partizan of the Queen Regent, would on her demise, and as a matter of course, be deprived of the Chamberlainship of Ross, and then, or shortly after, George Munro of Docharty was appointed in his stead. It is on record that in 1561 Queen Mary appointed that gentleman her Chamberlain and Bailie of all her lands in Ross, and it is similarly on record that in 1568, he was confirmed in those appointments during the will and pleasure of the King and the Regent. Seeing that his contemporary, Robert Munro of Fowlis—the first Protestant, it is said of the House of Fowlis-long held the office formerly filled by his father and grandfather, of Chief Maor, or executive officer, it seems probable that he owed the appointment to his relative of Docharty, holding it until his death in 1588. When these facts are weighed, the peaceable introduction and setting up of the Reformation in Ross seems of a similar nature to that of cause and effect.

Highlanders occasionally and ignorantly refer to Popery as the ancient religion; they will be surprised to hear that its whole term of ascendancy in Ross scarcely amount to four hundred years. These are the facts. The ancient Scottish Church—by no means the effete institution the Papists and their sympathisers allege it to have been—was superseded by Popery in 1128, and since Patrick Hamilton, by whom we have no doubt the Reformation was introduced, received the martyr's crown in 1528, it would have received its quietus there, about the time the four hundred years had expired. The legal establishment of Protestantism did not, however, occur until 1563.

As a help towards understanding the transition which made those dark days memorable, Dr Maclauchlan's observations will be read with interest:—

"David I. charters are abundantly witnessed by bishops, and show as if his purpose were by having them about him, to give them all the consequence that could be conferred by Royal favour. Feudal lords and Romish bishops became now the chief denizens of the Scottish Court. Nor is it unlikely that if David's favour gave consequence he sought a similar return for his Court, whether in Church or State. The purity of the Church would, in these circumstances, become less a question of consequence than power and grandeur."

Now, then, the Culdees of Applecross disappear; we hear no more of the successor of Maelrubba, but in their room we begin to hear of the consecration of bishops, for in 1261 Gregory was consecrated second bishop of Rosemarkie, and that, too, by the Papal Legate, Arnold, bishop of St Andrews. Rome had now got a secure footing in the territory of the Ancient Scottish Church. The ancient Kilernan and Kirkmichael were but a short distance from the new bishop's seat of Rosemarkie, places of far more consequence in former days; but the glory then rising of an Episcopal hierarchy was about to eclipse all the pristine glory of Scotland and its Church. The Scottish kings were becoming feudal monarchs, and as such it was needful to have a feudal nobility and an ecclesiastical hierarchy. Many modern writers

call this the process of civilization, and that the object of the king was to civilize the Scots. If so it was a civilization which required but four centuries to make the country glad to get rid of it, and one that, so far as the original Scots were concerned, helped to sink them into a state bordering upon utter barbarism. Let the history of the Highland Clans testify to this. "A mountain mass of superstition had gathered round the Church, atom by atom, and grain by grain. Men said that the soul was saved only by doing and believing what the priesthood taught. Then the heroes of the Reformation spoke. They said that the soul was saved by the Grace of God; a much more credible hypothesis. Once more the world was made free; made free by the Truth." (F. W. Robertson).

With the legal establishment of Protestantism in 1563 such ministers and elders as formed the General Assembly of the restored Church of Scotland were, in consequence of the scarcity of fit preachers of the Gospel, overwhelmed with anxieties when setting up the requisite parochial machinery. Readers had in many cases to be employed, that is converted priests to whom the preaching faculty was denied. We find that Ross had to depend upon its own resources up to 1563, when a commissioner was appointed by the General Assembly to "plant kirks in Ross." The gentleman chosen was Master Donald Munro, of the Coul Munros. His stipend was of the apostolic type, £,22 4s. 5½d. Scots, to continue for one year. In the winter of that year it was complained to the General Assembly that he was not so apt to teach as his office required; which was explained to mean, that he was not so proficient in the Gaelic language as might be wished. His appointment as Commissioner was renewed in 1573. Next year he was appointed to the parochial charge of Lemlair. (Its ruin still exists near the Waterloo croft). Tradition says that the bishop's castle opposite constituted his manse, and that on the Lord's Day he crossed the firth in a boat to preach to his people.—(Fasti).

CHAPTER X. -

It does not lie within the scope of this work to narrate the Church History of Ross; the subject, to do it anything like justice, would require a volume for itself; and then, it is believed, its readers though fit, would be so few that the cost of printing would be barely met. But while reciting the story of the Province, to omit giving matters of religion a prominent place, there would suggest comparisons with a certain tragedy, with the part of the hero left out. We have, therefore, in previous chapters referred at some length to the history and character of the early Scottish Church; to that also of the intrusive religion of Rome; and to the incipient stages of the Church of the Reformation. We shall now direct the readers attention to the little that is known of the manner in which Presbyterianism became a living force in Ross.

The agent employed by the General Assembly with the rank of superintendent to set up the parochial machinery, was, as we saw, a gentleman of the name of Munro. Readers of Church History are aware that until the several Presbyteries had become self-acting, and thus able to undertake the due planting and watering within their own bounds, they had the assistance of functionaries similar to Mr Munro, but who at no time numbered more than six, all appointed for brief periods, and then, if not reappointed, heard of no more. Much, however, has been made of those superintendents by those interested in proving that here we have had substantially that order of diocesan bishops, whose subsequent rejection by, and brutal enforcement on the people was productive of many woes to Scotland, and of much scandal to religion itself. To those conversant with the facts the argument is not good enough to be laughed at. It may also with safety be affirmed

that none who are not contempt and laughter-proof can hold at this time of day that Scottish Episcopacy, first and last, had any higher origin than its adaptability for furthering arbitrary government.

From the fact that in 1560 Nicolas Ross, Abbot of Fearn, and in his capacity of Peer of Parliament, voted for the establishment of Protestantism, we feel at liberty to infer that he must have had in that step the moral support of the people of the Province; an inference greatly strengthened by the other fact that the movement owed nothing to his oratory or life.

But whatever teachings and preachings may have gone on previously, not until 1574 did the Presbytery of Chanonry, as the new establishment in Ross was termed, set public worship on foot in Dingwall. There a Master Walter Ross, probably an unlearned priest who had identified himself with the new order of things, held the office of reader; similar appointments being made in a number of parishes in the Machair, previous to the ordination in these of a settled and learned ministry. In the case of the county town, typical in that respect of other parishes, the reader held office but for a year; when Master Donald Adamson, minister in Urray, was, owing to the scarcity of preachers, obliged to add not Dingwall only, but Lemlair and Contin to his field of Labour. From his days onward, Dingwall, town and parish, had-with the exception of a hiatus of seven or eight years at the commencement of the 17th century—a regular supply of such preaching as was going, but if the truth must be told, it was for the most part, until the period of the Disruption, of the wood, wooden!

Under the fostering care of the Good Regent, the Reformation in Ross went on apace, though Kiltearn, doubtless owing to the presence of the Fowlis Family, became in that particular conspicuous among the other parishes. Tain, however, soon attained a preeminence all its own. The progress of the good work there so impressed the Regent that he resolved to recognise it in a way which he was sure would be appreciated by all classes; presenting their church with a finely-carved oak pulpit—a really creditable work of Scottish art—which, having unaccountably fallen into neglect together with the church building, both pulpit and church were by the pious care of the sons and daughters of the burgh a few years ago restored to their pristine beauty. We are told in Scot's Fasti that the minister of Tain, with

which for a time was joined Edderton, Tarbat, and Nigg, was a Master Finlay Manson.

At first view, nothing more puzzles the historical student than the circumstance, by no means contined to Ross, that for well-nigh forty years after Presbyterianism had become the recognised form of worship, the ecclesiastical titles of Popery continued to be applied to the ministers who occupied the churches of the previous dignitaries. Thus we have seen the Abbot of Fearn voting for the Reformation; the Chancellor of Ross, as we shall presently see, ministered in Rosemarkie; its Dean filling the pulpit of Ardersier; and, stranger still, we have Hepburn, minister of Fortrose, holding the title of Bishop of Ross at the very period when Lesley, the Popish prelate, was drawing the greater part of its revenues.

The very existence of this parochial bishop would, however, have remained unknown to us were it not that we have in the Privy Council Records of the period a narrative of the circumstances amid which his ministry terminated, together with the subsequent distress of his wife and children, induced by the rapacity of Colin Mackenzie of Kintail.

The following extract is of interest and value, just as showing the sort of treatment meeted out by Popish lairds to the ministry of the Gospel, and next in explaining how some of the vast property of the House of Kintail was acquired.

Under date 24th January, 1578, there came before the Privy Council the complaint of Christian Scrymgeour, relect of the late Bishop of Ross, to whom were joined the two Lord Advocates; against Colin Mackenzie of Kintail and his accomplices; the bishop being then in the article of death, the said Coline and they, "bodin in feir of weir" (in armour) with hagbuttis, bowis, swordis, and utheris wapponis invasive, forced their way into the Castel and hous of the Channonrie of Ross, and put the said Christine Scrymgeour and her barnis furth of the same, constraynit thame to lief the cuntrie and cum away be say, not suffering them to get meit, drink, or lugeing within the said toun, nor lettand sa meikle cum away with thame of thair awin geir as a plaid or blanket to keep the saidis barnis fra cauld within the boit." The usual citation of parties had been made and now, "the said Christine Scrymgeour compeared personally, but Coline Mackenzie did not, though often callit." The order of the Lords is that he and his

accomplices be denounced rebels and put to the horn with escheat of goods. It will be seen from the foregoing that the curse of the widow and orphan, or rather of Him who makes their cause his own, formed an element in the doom of the House of Kintail!

The circumstances which induced this special act of pilfering call for mention. Though by this time in possession of much land in the Machair and its adjacent straths, the head of the Kintail family had not yet acquired an appropriate residence there; hence his hankering after the "Castel of the Channonrie," now no longer occupied by the lordly prelate but by a humble minister of the Reformation—a movement with which "Coline of Kintail" had no sympathy whatever. The family thirst for real estate being then and long after of a consuming nature, and this desirable messuage in a manner conveyable, the temptation was of a character impossible to resist.

But here and for the time Colin found that he had acted prematurely and therefore foolishly. The Record does not inform us whether or not the widow obtained justice on the barrator—probably not—but two days after the above date we read there, that the said Colin was charged on pain of treason "to deliver the Castel hous and place of the Channonrie of Ross, with the hail munitions and ordnance being thairin to the said Henry Lord Methven, and his said tutor for their intries." This was the first attempt of the Mackenzies to obtain possession of the Castle of Fortrose, the next—of the same lawless character—was, as we shall see, more successful.

But at this period the Balnagown family kept pace with that of Kintail in the hunt after Church property falling loose. In the year 1581, the abbacy land of Fearn was held by a Commendator (official of the Tulchan Order), who, under date February 27th, reminds the King and Council "quhat barbarous cruelties, injuries, and intollerable oppressions and bluidiched the saidis Alexander Ross committed not only on personis dwelland upoun his awn heritage, but upoun sundrie utheris his majesties good subjects, detaining them in irinis, tormenting thame maist cruellie, quhairthraow many honest houshalders beg thair meit in the cuntrie. Of quhilk nowmbers nane hes greter caus of complaint nor the said Commendator's pure tenantis of the Abbacy of Fearne, quha at all tymes and is presently sae opprest and herreit by him that they are altogether maid unable to occupy thair awin rowmes, far less

to pay the said Commendator ony mail or dewtie, they being compelled to mak payment thairof to the said Alexander, and expressly inhibited upour pane of thair lives onywise to answer or acknowledge the said Commendator, whereby he is altogether maid unable to pay our sovereigh Lords third, or otherwise sustene himself, his wyff and familia." Ross is again denounced rebel, put to the horn, and his goods escheated for his majesty's use. He was soon after made prisoner—probably on this account—and confined in Tantallon Castle, where, it is hoped, he learned better manners.

But it must not be supposed that the methods under which Popery contrived to keep up a semblance of church ordinances amid the barbarous habits it had engendered in Ross could be departed from without the innovating Presbyterian ministers incurring danger from the fiercer creatures of their flocks. Though, doubtless, similar cases of violence occurred elsewhere, it was from Fearn only-so far as we have ascertained—that a formal complaint on this score was submitted to the Privy Council. Five years after the setting up of the Presbytery in Ross, that is, on the 6th of August, 1569, we find Master William Gray, minister of Fearn, complaining in the following terms: -- "On the 5th of July last, he beand in the kirk of Fearn, preachand the Word of God to the parochineris, and efter the sermon was dune, coming furth of the pulpett to celebrate the Sacrament of the Lordis Supper to thame, hoiping to have found na stop nor impediment, Robert Lennox in Schaufurd in ane great fury and reage cam to the said William with ane drawn quhinzear (short sword) in his hand, and struck him thairwith and had not failed to have slayne him, gif God and the remanent of the parochinaris present had not stayit the said Robert." The only reason for this outrage was "because amangis utheris vitious personis, the said William commandit him to abstain fre ganging to the tabill of the Lord at that tyme, he being known to be ane adulterer and fornicator divers years without repentance." Accordingly, the said Robert Lennox, being duly summoned, and not appearing, the order was that he be denounced rebel, and put to the horn, with escheat of goods.

We shall conclude our extracts from the Privy Council Records, bearing on the settlement of Protestantism in Ross, with the following. It will be found interesting as showing not only the tenacity with which the Popish incumbents kept hold of their temporalities long after the



establishment of Presbyterianism, but the venality of the Government in demanding the large sum, for that period, of 500 merks, as the condition of presenting a new incumbent to the vacant deanerie. As formerly mentioned, Ardersier, though locally situated in Moray, up to that time constituted the Church of the Dean of Ross; and it will be further noticed that so late as 1585, all the old titles which distinguished the Popish dignitaries, were still applied by the Government to the Presbyterian ministers.

"Falkland, 21st July, 1585, Sederunt, Jacobus, Rex. Comes de Arrane, etc., etc.

"Although eifter decrite of deprivations and despositions pronouncit agains Alexander Urquhart, last Popish Dean of Ross, Master Hector Munro, son of Robert Munro of Fowlis, was presentit be his majestie to the said deanerie, rentis, fruitis, and emolumentis belangand thairto, and for the first fruitis of the same, the said Robert payit to his hieness Thesaurer the soume of 500 merkis money, yet the said Master Hector is still postponit and frustrat of his collatioun ordinar and admision to the said deanerie, and the said Alexander thairthrow pretendis libertie to proceed in his prodigal delapidations and vaisting of the rentis of the same, as in very deed they are already sa consummit and exhaustit be his doings that git the thingis past be him sen his deprivation bave place (continues) little or naething sall remain to the successor what The King, therefore, with the advice of his Council, "ratifies the said decret and sentence of deprivation against the said Alexander, allowis the electionis of the personis, ministers within the diocie of Ros, nominat be the synodal assembly thairof as assesoris to Master Robert Graham, Archdeacon (Killernan), present commissioner of the same—they are to say—Master Jhonne Robertson, Master George Munro, Master Andro Crumby, Robert Munro, Andro Mylne, Wiliam Ros Thomassoun, Donald Dow, Finlay Masoun, and Master Robert Williamsoun," and ordains letters to issue charging the said Archdeacon and Commissioners and Assessors that "upoun dew tryall finding him worthy to enter in the function of the ministerie, they shall admit him to the said deanerie, conforme to his said presentation, within six days after being charged, notwithstanding 'the lang space sin the dait thairof."

In the year 1591 we find the Presbytery of Tain petitioning the

Privy Council for three bells with which the Abbey Church of Fearn was furnished, which they declared Thomas the Abbot (Commendator) meant to make away with, and solicited that they might be granted for the use of the kirks of the Presbytery, especially Tarbet and Nigg, which were destitute of these conveniences. The request was granted. The Abbot was ordered to deliver up the articles within ten days if he wished to escape the penalties of rebellion.

Having thus, so far as the exceedingly scanty information at our command allowed, referred to the difficulties attendant upon the setting up of Protestantism in Ross, we shall now make an extract from the same authentic records with the view of giving correct notions of that lawlessness which prevailed, not so much among the humbler classes as in the higher order out of which at present our Justices of the Peace and Lord Lieutenants are taken.

"Apud Halyruidhous, xii. die mensis Septembris Anno Domini, 1573. Anent our Soveraine Lordis letters raisit at the instance of Maister George Munro, makand mention-that quhair he is lauchfullie providit to the Chancellarie of Ros (Church of Rosemarkie) be his hienes presentatioun, admission of the kirk, and the Lordis descretis thairupoun, and his obtenit letters in all the four forms thairupoun; and thairwith hes causit charge the tenentis and intromettouris with the teyno scheaves thairof to mak him and his factoris pament; and in the meyntyme Rore Mackenzie, of Red Castle, broder of Coline Mackenzie of Kintale havand continewall residence in the steephill of the Chanonrie of Ros, quilk he causit big not only to oppress the cuntrie with maisterfulu reif, soirning and daylie oppression, bot alssua for suppressing the Word of God, quilk wes ay precheit in the said kirk preceeding his entery thairto-quilk now is becum ane filthy sty and den of thevis; hes maisterfully and violentlie with ane grat force of oppressoris cum to the tenentis addebitit of the said Maister George's benifice forsaid, and hes maisterfully reft thame of all and hail the fruitis thairof; and sua he having na uther refuge for obtaining the said benifice was compellit to denounce the said hail tennantis rebellis and put thame to the horn as the saidis letters and executioun thairof mair fully proportis; and forder, was compellit for fear of the said Maister George's life to remain frae hes vocatioun quhairunto God hes callit him. And anent the charge govin to the said Rore Mackenzie to desist and

cease fra all intromitting uptaking, molesting or troubling of the said Maister George's tenantis of his benefice abone written for ony fruitis and dewtis thairof, otherwise than order of law. . . . Quilkis being callit, the said Maister George comperand personalie, and the said Rore Mackenzie of tymes callit and not compearand, My Lordis Regentis Grace, with avice of the Lordis of Secreit Council ordains letters to be direct to officiaris of arms, Sheriffs in that part, to denounce the said Rore Mackenzie, our Soverane Lordis rebell, and put him to the horn; and to escheat and inbring all his moveable guidis to his Hienes use for his contemption."

Five years subsequent to the forcible ejection of Colin Mackenzie from the Castle of Channonrie (22nd February, 1585), we find that desirable residence, with the church lands of Suddie and Belmaduthie, and certain other lands in its vicinity, in the possession of Andrew Munro of Davochcarte (Dochcarty), which David Chalmers, formerly Popish Chancellor of Ross, had forfeited for concern in the murder of Darnley, and for having adopted the losing cause at the battle of Langside. (This individual afterwards studied law, became eminent as an advocate, and finally sat on the Bench as Lord Ormond). By this statement, read in the light of the deliverance of the Privy Council to the effect that no ill-doing on Bishop Lesley's part could invalidate his disposition of church property, it would appear that he put Chalmers, a creature of his own, in nominal possession of the subjects in order to have them conveyed in that circuitous way to his customer, Colin Mackenzie, who thus acquired them as so much bankrupt stock. But before the arrangement could be fully carried out, Chalmers got into trouble, his nominal rights were cancelled, and Andrew Munro, who had fought on the winning side, was rewarded at the hands of the Good Regent with the forfeited Castle and lands, not only for services rendered to the State, but for services to be rendered against contemners of his "Hienes authoritie in sic a rebellious tyme." Munro, having been led to believe that Chalmers was about to sue for the benefits of the Pacification, became alarmed that notwithstanding the expenses to which he had been put, Chalmers would have the Castle and lands back again. The King and Council, however, ratified and approved "of the new gift and disposition of the saidis landis," and provided that Chalmers would be exempt from the "Pacification."

Munro was, of course, delighted, but "at sic a rebellious tyme" people could hardly call their heads, much less their land, their own, and this he found to his cost during the Regency of Arran, for taking advantage of the wretched weakness of the Executive, Colin Mackenzie, under cover of the title he had through Chalmers, starved Munro out of the Castle, and by virtue of being in possession obtained a charter to both it and the lands, and had Munro confined in Inverness Castle for daring to defend his own property! Thus did the Mackenzies obtain possession of the Castle of Fortrose, wherein they lived in great glory until during the troubles following the Revolution General Mackay took care, by razing it to the ground, that it would no more prove a centre of disaffection. It would appear from the "Origines Parochiales" that in 1607, David, son of the Chalmers aforesaid, was served heir to his father in certain lands of his in the parish of Ayoch.

We find in these Records under date, Holyrood House, 15th March, 1574-75, that the sureties which had become bound that Colin Mackenzie of Kintail—his land hunger having got him again into trouble—would remain in ward in Edinburgh, be discharged; William Douglas of Lochleven, and James Scrymgeour of Dunhope, constable of Dundee, having engaged under a penalty of £10,000 that that noted filibuster appear before the Council when required.

In the same year and month, but eleven days later, Colin, Earl of Argyle, and Robert Munro of Fowlis engage that Rory Mackenzie of Kintail, brother germane of Colin Mackenzie, shall return to the Regent a band of Walter Urquhart, Sheriff of Cromarty; John Grant of Feuchy; and Hucheon Rose, Baron of Kilrawak; obliging them to enter the said Rory before the Council when required, and that he shall in the meantime keep good rule in the country. From these extracts it would appear even in those confused times the arm of the law was of sufficient length to strike with effect the lawless Mackenzies.

During the overturn incident to the legal establishment of the Reformation, the "Tulchan Apparatus," as it has been termed, was set up. It was the invention of the great Scottish lords and acted as follows. As vacancies occurred they procured for satelites of their own presentations to the benefices, on the distinct understanding that all but a fraction of the emoluments would go into their lordly pockets; stealing in this round-about way having obviously much to commend it.

These satelites accordingly were termed in derision, Tulchan—that is stuffed calf-skin bishops. But in carrying out the king's device against the popular liberties—to which we are about to refer—the sham bishops were by degrees superceded by somewhat more real functionaries; leading Reformers, docile to Court orders when they could be got, but failing these, such churchmen as could most readily be converted into tools. Thus the Bishopric of Ross, the first chosen for the experiment, had that saponaceous renegade, David Lindsay, until 1598 minister of Leith, set over it. Except an examplary attendance at the Privy Council Table, Bishop Lindsay's sole official act which has come down to us, was his baptising shortly after his birth, Prince Charles (The First) "because of the wakenes of the childe and that his death was feared." The infant was soon after created Earl of Ross, the last who bore the historic title.

The stage at which our story has arrived seeming to call for it, we remark that that game or conspiracy—regarding the local incidents of which we shall have a good deal to say—cannot be correctly understood without a previous clear apprehension—a somewhat rare attainment—of the conditions under which it originated, of the character of the Royal gamester and his confederates, with that of his opponents, together with the rules these so uncourtier-like insisted on following. These several points we shall here indicate as briefly as possible.

Popery, frequently defined as a conspiracy on the part of the devil and his agents against the temporal and eternal interests of mankind, had many years previously, through the blessing of God on the self-denying labours of Knox and his contemporaries, been, as a system, reduced to impotence, but with this important reservation; its characteristic methods in Church and State designed to foster rather than curb the traditional habits of Courts, were retained as the perfection of statecraft by both king and nobility. These men found it impossible to adopt a government policy in which those methods would have to give place to the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, or to a judicial system wherein all ranks stood on an equal footing before the law. Thus, while to a thoughtful people the Presbyterian Order wore upon its face a radience borrowed from the Central Light, to a profligate nobility and a foolish king, in whose eyes high place and influence simply meant an immeasurable Beer and Skittle ground and in relation

to which the mass of the people were merely that of purveyors and spectators, its extinction was from the first considered imperative. Happily, however, from 1547 to 1607 there occurred a sowing, growing, and even garnering time, during which the ripe grain of evangelical and forensic truth had so provided hiding-places for itself in the hearts and consciences of the people that every attempt made towards its extirpation ended in disastrous failure with the expulsion of the dynasty implicated as a climax. So much for the condition of things under the New Order of things in the Church engaged in its death struggle with the Old.

The character of James VI. has been frequently drawn, but never to the advantage of that singular personality, though that by Dr Maccrie, and notwithstanding a full knowledge of his subject's worthlessness, is perhaps the most favourable. We frequently in life meet with individuals who in one humble department attain considerable success, but as soon as they extend their ventures the genius half-fool stands revealed. It was James' chief misfortune to be born a prince rather than, say, an operative cuttler, in which position his paltry acuteness would doubtless procure for him some credit, but in the various and complicated affairs of a kingdom his failure was inevitable and disastrous. Nor could the period be made to adjust itself to his insignificant mental and moral resources. The collision between the Old Order, to which he was wedded, and the New, with which the majority of his thoughtful subjects had also become wedded, had shaken every previous custom to its foundations, and he, of all monarchs, was the least disposed to abandon the discredited and adopt the approved. But his unfitness for the place did not altogether arise from his poverty of resources, he was noted, as Macaulay puts it, for being "all a king should not be." It was not his fault, of course, that he was ungainly in person, but with some effort he might omit being a slobbering egotist, liar, and disputatious pendant. He was noted not only for cowardice, which made havoc of his retentive faculties at sight of a naked sword, but which also took delight in inflicting prolonged torture on men whose ink-pots he was unworthy to clean; and finally, he was possessed by a fatuity which led him to follow the guidance of such favourites as were distinguished for handsome persons and agreeable manners though destitute of every statesmanlike quality and notorious for every moral delinquency.

Previous to the fall of Morton, who maintained a mere dogged though not always tacit resistance to the New Order, James remained in obscurity, but immediately thereafter, on taking the reins into his own hands, a complete change occurred. Heretofore a guiding hand and a continuity of policy were absent, but about this time both were supplied by the advent of Esme Stewart, a cousin once removed to the king. He had come over from France ostensibly to recover certain family properties, but really as an emissary of Louis XIV., then diligently forwarding "The Cause of Order"; by annulling with fire and sword the little that remained of the liberties of his subjects. Having assumed the role of Missionary in Chief of this blessed cause, he was by similar instrumentalities propagating it in the countries contiguous to his own, and Stewart had come to represent him in the quality of Missionary depute. The Gospel he came not to proclaim, but to whisper, and intended for the ears of one class only-kings and courtiers—was expressed in the celebrated and comprehensive formula. "I (the king) am the State"! and since its adoption by the great kingdom was found to silence all awkward investigations whatsoever, nothing less could be expected from its adoption by the small.

Esme Stewart, his person and manner being irreproachable, came, saw, and conquered, both for his master and himself, and with commendable celerity was promoted to the Lord High Chamberlainship, and soon thereafter created Duke of Lennox. The soil also which received the Plant of Renoun he had brought with him, being extremely rich in arbitraryness, prerogative, and similar constituents, and the air of the Court being similarly favourable, it sprung up with astonishing rapidity, and for more than eighty years thereafter it not only overshadowed the land but went far to stifle every other growing thing whatsoever.

Lennox had in his sinister mission as confederate, Captain James Stewart, a son of Lord Ochiltree, a person eaten up with ambition, and notoriously one of the leading profligates of the time, but he made himself so useful that he was created Earl of Arran, held with Lennox the ear of the king, and usually acted as the brawling bully of the concern. Most of the nobility and gentry, though always ready to shed blood in private quarrels, regarded their countrie's liberties as an invisible quantity, habitually trimmed their sails to the Court wind, and when not indulging in its orgies held course debauches in their private

beer and skittle grounds. So much for the Royal gamester, his policy, and his associates.

Civil and religious liberty were just beginning to be understood. It, of course, originated with the Reformation, and accordingly, immediately after launching, that goodly argosy and its crew had many tempests to face and many dangerous headlands to weather, but about 1582, and though the Court policy had by this time fully declared itself, it had become at least a potential force, to be reckoned with and feared. Nor were the Reformers negligent, both from a sense of duty and a sense of safety in widening its influence. The Moral Law was restored to its due place in the pulpit, fashionable sins being specially singled out, and Civil Law, as defined in Institutes and Pandects was diligently taught by their professors in the Universities, compared—not to their advantage with current methods, and a general reformation of morals insisted on if the nation was not to incur the righteous judgments of God. Manifestly, to a king and Court such as we have endeavoured to describe, a religious institution of the above character must have appeared the most hateful bogie in the world, but while they had fully resolved upon its destruction, the mode to be adopted called for long and anxious cogitation. To Arran and his set, repressive measures pure and simple appeared the one thing needful, but the lessons of history were not quite lost upon others, particularly the king, an artist in simious cunning rather than feline blood-shedding; who, though resolved upon using his resources as tyrant, realised that as things then stood, the fatal blow could be best struck by the Church herself, and by the instrumentality of such of her adherents as could be influenced by expedients addressed to their cowardice, selfishness, and vainglory. Thus, too, though utterly destitute of any true sense of Religion he could take advantage of the current superstition-still found in the books, and still mischievouswhich declares it to be the duty of Civil Magistrates to "take order that unity and peace be preserved in the Church," by introducing under that pretence an "Equis Troganus," and while posing before the ignorant and the interested as her improver and defender.

This then was the plan of campaign which had for its object the extinction of the infant cause of Civil and Religious liberty in Scotland, and if the candid reader has any doubts on the subject he has but to read Dr Maccrie's Life of Andrew Melville, where he will find every

needful detail and proof laid bare, and the position established beyond the possibility of cavil. Hence it will appear that Episcopacy as a form of Church Government, together with the violences which accompanied its introduction, and the uncourtly speeches and behaviour of its opponents—so persistently dwelt upon by historical and other romancers—formed but the mere accessories and minutiæ; all of which might have been different without affecting the main issue. If this fact is lost sight of, we pass in a moment from the solid to the aqueous.

Here, then, was arrayed on one side the power, wealth, traditions, blandishments, craft and cunning of one of the most unscrupulous Governments on earth, and on the other, what? The by no means homogeneous Presbyterian Church, and except by its alliances with its Supreme Head that Church alone! for though the fearless and the true were at no period rarities within its walls, still less so were the time-seeker, the comfort-lover and the invertibrate: but at this crisis it numbered among its champions, patriots, Christians, and men in the most absolute sense, though one in particular towered over them all, the celebrated Andrew Melville.

The name of this heroic Scotsman is by no means so familiar to his country as it deserves to be, a circumstance perhaps occasioned by his having been preceded in the Reformation Era by the still more famous John Knox; while Covenanting times a half century later, though the mere sequel or development of its labours overshadowed it on the other.

Like many of our most eminent Scotsmen, Melville was born in Fife, the exact year uncertain, and of a family who were among the early adherents of the Protestant doctrine. From his earliest years he was noted for an insatiable thirst for knowledge and an aptitude for literary composition. Having acquired all the erudition his country could supply, and in his nineteenth year, he recommenced his studies in the University of Paris, whence he proceeded to that of Poictiers, where his proficiency secured him a regency, and finally went to Geneva, where he remained a number of years. At the urgent call of his country he came home, and was appointed to the Principalship of the University of Glasgow, which dates its literary history from that event. His passionate zeal for the cause of civil and religious liberty brought him

early into contact with the faction at the head of Scottish affairs. Morton, on one of these occasions, after fruitless endeavours to cajole or intimidate him into connivance with the current policy, angrily said, "There will never be quietness or peace in this country till half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished." "Tush, sir!" the undaunted Melville replied, "threaten your courtiers after this manner. It is all the same to me to rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord's, 'Patria est ubicunque est bene,' I have been ready to give my life where it would not be so well waured at the pleasure of God. I have lived out of your country ten years, as well as in it. Let God be glorified: it will not be in your power to exile or hang his truth "! Similar were his replies to King James when Episcopacy had become the declared policy, and on his being taunted with faithfulness to his own order replied, "God make us all true to Christ." "There is nothing," it was replied, "so good but it may be suspected, and thus you will be content with nothing." "We doubt the goodness of the thing and have too much reason to suspect its evil." "His Majesty," one of the sycophants present interjected, "and the Parliament will not admit the voters" (bishops at the Council table) "but for life, and if you agree not to this, you will lose the benefit." "The loss will be small." "Ministers will then lie in contempt and poverty." "It was the Master's case before them: better poverty with sincerity than promotion with corruption!" "Others will be promoted in their place, who will oppress and ruin the Church; for His Majesty will not want his third estate." "Then let Christ, the King of the Church, avenge her wrongs; He has done so before!" To the studious reader, the scene in front of the Whitehall, 30th January, 1649, and the events of Deceember, 1688, will be fully held to justify the threat. In 1580 Melville was translated to St Andrews, and from that date until 1611, when he was banished, the History of the Rise of our Civil and Religious Liberties, may with the strictest propriety be termed that of the dauntless and incorruptible Andrew Melville. Clearly, the riding of these marches has to be gone through from time to time. The "dour, sour, intractable Presbyterians" had better be let alone! To all who think, the Church in Scotland was the the seed plot and nursery of these liberties which founded in reason, and defended by law, have become the envy and admiration of the world.

CHAPTER XI.

DURING the opening years of the 17th century an atrocity for which it would be difficult to find a parallel is said to have occurred in the vicinity of the modern village of Tarradale, and is known in story as the burning of the Church of Killechroist. Our duty lying that way, it here calls for reproduction. It is usually related in the following terms:—

The unlucky Macdonalds of Glengarry, stung by a sense of many injuries received at the hands of the lucky Mackenzies, resolved to carry fire and sword into the part of the Machair possessed by their natural enemies, and dispatched thither a strong party headed by a minor chieftain known as Allan a Lundy. Having arrived on a Sunday morning in the vicinity of Beauly, they ascertained that a number of the Kintail vassals had just assembled for worship in the Church of Killechriost. Stealthily proceeding thither, they secured the doors and windows, set the thatched roof on fire, ordered their pipers to accompany the groans of the wretches within with appropriate music, and on the completion of the tragedy decamped. A hue and cry was immediately raised with the result that none of the Macdonalds, save their leader-a hero it would seem, of the Achilles pattern-reached home alive. Such in brief is the story. We are as prepared as anyone to shudder over the narrative, were we in the first instance satisfied as to the date! When did it occur? In reply to this query we are told to examine the walls of the church (it was unroofed when last visited by us) and note the evidence they bear of having been subjected to the action of fire, and take along with that fact the uniform testimony of tradition. We, on our part, rejoin that we are by no means satisfied regarding the "fact," and also decline, for sufficient reasons, the testimony of tradition. Then, when we remember that the conflagration was the work of the Macdonalds, a tribe well-nigh as hateful in the eyes of the Government as the Macgregors themselves, while the alleged sufferers if not exactly Mackenzies—the name was then borne but by few—were vassals of the powerful House of Kintail, its Chief a member of the Privy Council, and sure to bring the atrocity before the eyes of the argus-eyed Court if it ever had occurred, we naturally look among its records for the corresponding Commission of fire and sword against the offending tribe, but neither offence nor retribution is at all referred to there. We, accordingly, could draw but one conclusion from the fact. Nor will it do to say that possibly the Privy Council thought the matter too trifling to call for their interference. That singular tribunal, as its Records show, thought no misdemeanour too great or too small for its consideration, and dealt alike impartially with the treason of Balmerino and the castigation by means of "bridlis and beltis," administered to the miller of Brigend's man, by the wife of Master John Mackenzie, the Dingwall parson. It is, therefore, impossible to doubt that if the atrocity in question ever occurred it would have been brought before the Council, and severely dealt with there.

We had arrived at the foregoing conclusion, and thought, and still think it sufficient, when through the courtesy of Mr Kenneth Macdonald, Town Clerk, Inverness, we were supplied with a copy of a paper on the same subject he had read at a meeting of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, 28th November, 1888. Therein he not only establishes by irrefragable evidence and beyond the possibility of cavil, that the Macdonalds did not fire the church, but shows first: that the story took its rise from a false reading, by Gregory, the historian, of the Register of the Privy Seal, and next, that while it specifies a raid or spraich, by Allan a Lundy, it is absolutely silent regarding the tragedy we are all so familiar with. For that raid, Allan Macdonald, laird of Lundy, was summoned to appear before the Justice Clerk, "but wisely preferred to stay at home," in consequence of which he was declared rebel and his estate forfeited. On the 7th December, 1622, about five months after the forfeiture, his friend, Sir John Grant, procured a gift of the echeat from the Crown in his own favour, and in the letter of gift the causes of the forfeiture are narrated. After specifying the things forfeited the letter proceeds: - "Which pertained of before to Allan Macranald of Lundy, in Glengarrie, and now pertaining to us, fallen and become in

our hands, and at our gift and disposition, by reason of escheat, through being of the said Allan Macranald upon the 22nd of June bypast orderly denounced our rebel, and put to the horn, by virtue of other letters, raised and executed against the said Allan, at the instance of John Mackenzie, Archdeacon of Ross, for himself, and as master with the remanent kin and friends of umquile, Alexander Maccaye, Donald Maccaye and son, Alexander Gald, tenants and servants of the said Master John, of his town and lands of Killechriost, and also at the instance of William Olliphant, of Newton, Knight, our advocate for our interest, for not finding sufficient caution and surety to our Justice Clerk and his deputies, and underlye the laws for the treasonable and wilful raising of fire, and cruelly and unmercifully murdering and slaying of the said umquile, Alexander Maccave, John Maccave, Donald Maccave, and Alexander Gald, tenants of the said John Mackenzie, of the said town and lands of Killechriost, and burning and destroying to the number of twenty-seven dwelling-houses within the said town, with the barns, byres and kilns, belonging thereto, and burning and destroying of the said Master John, his hail library and books, together with twenty score bolls of oats, and eight score bolls of bere, being in the said Master John, his barn and barnyard, and theiftuously stealing and taking away of nine pieces of horse, with the said Master John, his own best horse, three score oxen and kye, and in the month of September, in the year of God, 1603 years, the time of the feud then standing betwixt umquile Kenneth Lord Kintail, and Donald Macangus of Glengarrie."

"This narration," says Sir William Fraser, as quoted in the paper, "divests the raid of Killechriost of its traditional horrors and reduces it to the dimensions of an attack by a party of Macdonalds, under Allan Dubh Macranald, upon the Archdeacon of Ross, who being a Mackenzie of prominence would be peculiarly obnoxious to the raiders. The resistance of the Archdeacon's tenants to the attack upon their laird probably incited the Macdonalds to extend their destructive operations to their dwellings in addition to that of the Archdeacon, and in the strife several of the tenants were slain. It is impossible to suppose that had any terrible sacrilege and cruelty taken place such as tradition relates, it would have been omitted from the charge against the laird of Lundie, especially when the Archdeacon himself was the author of the process. Mr Macdonald adds, "it is difficult to overtake and more

difficult to kill a falsehood when it gets a day's start; how much more difficult when it gets a start of more than a century." Doubtless; but difficult though it be, it is here not only done but buried, though still available for resurrection by authors in quest of sensational padding!

It has puzzled not only the assailants but the defenders of the "tradition," that nineteen years would have elapsed before the raid came up for settlement; but the puzzle itself, as well as the reason why the Archdeacon was made an example of, can be explained, and will be found eminently suggestive.

As a first step we beg to direct the attention of the reader to the following:—

In the Privy Council Records we read under date 25th December, 1505, "The complaint of Alexander Bain of Tulloch, and Alexander Bain, fiar of Logie (Conan Mains), against John Mackenzie, minister at Urray, who, forgetful of that calling and profession quhairunto he is receivit," is accused first of harbouring "John Macgillicallum Rasa, ane common thief and lummair and denouncit rebel" there for the express purpose of murdering the said Alexander Bain of Logie's two sons, "and nixt, the said John Mackenzie had come to the complainers lands of Urray and cuttit his plewis and rigwiddies, and theirby and by utheris and likie oppin and manifest oppressionis, hes laid and halden the said landis waist." Bain of Logie appeared for himself, but Mackenzie failed to appear, was denounced rebel and put to the horn. Mackenzie was thus an outlaw though still a minister when eight years later the raid occurred, and therefore could neither complain of it nor much less obtain redress, a fact which would be well known to the Macdonalds, and on which they would reckon in view of reprisals. There is no official record of the sentence being removed, though by adhering to the rising cause of Episcopacy, Mackenzie was continued in the ministry, necessarily by Bishop Lindsay, and even, as we shall see, obtained promotion.

We turn again to the Privy Council Records, where under date of November 29th, 1614, we find the following complaint of George Dunbar, Tutor for Robert Dunbar of Avoch, as follows:—"Of late John Mackenzie, Archdeacon of Ross, and minister of Killearnan, being forgetful of that modest behaviour quhilk becometh one of his place," committed the following depredations. "On 18th August last, Mr

Johnne Mackenzie, accompanied by forty-one persons specified, with others not so, in all amounting to fifty, armed with 'swordis, gauntlets, pistolettis, etc.,' went before break of day to that part of Avach which marches with Arkindeath, on which was a quantity of uncut bear and oats, which they reaped and carted away, spending three hours at the work." Dunbar appeared for himself, and the said John Mackenzie also appeared for himself and the other defenders. The Lords found the charge proven, fined the defender £100 to the Crown, and to remain in the Tolbooth until the fine was paid. The Lords remitted the other points—the value of the crop probably—to the proper Court. then, is part of the edifying record of the Archdeacon of Ross, and the reader has thus before him sufficient materials whereby to estimate that persons "loyalty and integrity." At the period of the Avoch raid, and also the action raised against Allan a Lundy, he was no longer of Urray but of Killearnan—the church proper of the Archdeacon—the raided lands of Killechriost being his patrimonial property, inherited from his brother, Kenneth Mackenzie of that ilk. Our theory is-taking Mackenzie's character into account—that either before or after his ordination, or during his outlaw experiences, he led a personally conducted tourist party into the Macdonald country, took from thence whatever was not too hot or heavy, and that the Killechriost raid, greatly exaggerated in the narration, was simply—the omens being favourable a mere "quid pro quo."

After a careful review of the whole case our conviction is, first, that not unil 1622 did the Archdeacon find his sinister record so forgotten and his position as an official of the Episcopal conspiracy so consolidated as to admit of bringing Allan Macranald to book; and next, when the character of the leading prosecutor is taken into account, while Macdonald's version of the affair was not forthcoming owing to his well-grounded fear of results, it is in the highest degree probable that the particulars as we have them of the Killechriost Raid, both in number and atrocity, owe much to the invention of the devout Archdeacon.

It is hardly necessary to say that apart from the establishment of Protestantism, almost all the provincial history we have of those dark days consist of more or less atrocious misdemeanours; the Privy Council Records being little better than a Police Gazette, in which these

are recorded in endless variety and in quaint phraseology, while on that score, and so far as Ross is concerned, it is hard to say whether the House of Kintail or that of Balnagown furnishes the most scandalous examples. What we have already given of the former must suffice until the "conveyance" of the Lewis comes to be narrated; but of the latter the giving of one or two typical instances will be in order were it only to show that the evil-doers of South Ross were fully matched by those of the Northern Division in the Privy Council Records.

Under date June 5th, 1592, Ross of Balnagown and his son became involved in the pains of high treason for inter-communing with that arch-disturber of James VI.'s peace, the Earl of Bothwell. They were charged with having knowingly "resetted the said Francis, Earl of Bothwell, within thair housis and boundis, and in conveying him to and fro fra Caithness ouer the ferries of Ardersier, Cromarty, and Dornoch; speciallie at the tyme when the said sumtyme Erl, returning south fra Caithness, interprised that most treasonable and wicked deid agains his Hienes awn personne, and the personne of the Queen, his darest bedfellow." The Lords of Secreit Counsall accordingly ordain letters to denounce these rebels and escheit, etc., etc.

1592, 25th December, Complaint of John Ross, in Edinburgh, as follows:—

Upon 24th of April last, while he was in the Channonrie of Ros, "doing his lesum affairis," George Ros of Balnagown, Nicolas Ros, Gillicallum Ros, brothers of the laird of Balnagown, Alexander Ros of Innercharroun, William Ros of Priesthill, Hucheoun Ros, apparent of Tollie, Johnne Ros of Muldarg, Johnne Ros of Little Tarrel, Walter Ros, apparent of Balmuchie, Donald Ros of Mudgany, William Innes of Candieruffe, James Innes, apparent of Inverbreakie, with their accomplices, to the number of three score persons, "put violent hands on the said complainer, and tuke him as captive and prisoner to the place of Balnagown, quhair they detainit him in sure firmance and captivitie quhill the 29th day of May next thairefter." The parties concerned having been charged to answer, and not appearing, they were denounced rebels.

But not only were the laird of Balnagown and his son chargeable with personal lawlessness but with giving countenance and protection, when similarly engaged "to their men and tennantis." Thus under date 20th October they are charged with being act and part in the following case of Spulzie, which in several respects has an interest all its own.

"Here Donald Ros, Macean Machomash, alias Reoch, in Langwell, Strathcarron; John Dow Macdonald vic Ian, in Ardgay; Finla Macrawis, in Soyall; Thomas Macwilliam Maconachy, in Langwell; Johnne Machucheoun Mor there, with convocation of the leiges to the number of four score persons, all armed with havershons, Jacks, steill bonnetis, hagbuttis, culverings, bowis, swordis, and utheris wapponis, cam at night to the complainer's hous of Esboll, in Strathcarroun, in Ros, belonging heritably to him the complainer, Maister Johnne Ros, parson of Logy, where he and his men were taking their night's rest, and thair maist unhonestly brak up the hail duris of the said complainer's hous, hurt and dang his servantis, sornit and destroyit his hail salmond fishes quilkis were saltit in fattis, reft, spulyet and awaytuke aucht stane of cheis, foure stane of butter, tua mareis with foal, and slew four kye and four scheip." It would appear from the above that the members of the Church militant had their garrisons pretty well provisioned. The accused parties failing to appear they were denounced rebels.

George Ross of Balnagown seems to have lived at open war with most of his neighbours in the district, for we find under date 1st January, 1607, Katherine Munro, heiress of Meikle Daan, complaining to the Privy Council that George Ross remains unrelaxed from his horning of 22nd October last, for not paying her the profits of a half davoch and two oxgangs of land in Meikle Daan for three previous years. The Captain of the Guard is ordered to apprehend defender and inventory his goods. On the same occasion, Robert Munro of Fowlis, and Andrew Munro, his tutor, for his interest, complains that the said George Ross, remains unrelaxed from the horning of 22nd October, for not infefting the complainer in the town and lands of Innercashly, Glenmuic, Stronhosher, and the coble fishings of Tolasche, Aossache, etc. A decree is obtained against the defender for non-appearance.

When referring to the conditions under which land was held by Crown vassals, we took occasion to point out the crass ignorance of those ministers of confusion who preached, that at an early period, the "People" possessed it free gratis and for nothing; and now before passing from the Middle Period, it will, we think, be in order to refer

briefly to cognate matter which has had from the same orators a similarly liberal genesis—the game and fishery laws. Those familiar with the subject are already aware that deer—the game of those days, and salmon, were as strictly preserved as now—the argument still sometimes heard that they were wild creatures, owing food and shelter to none, being considered invalid; but to those unfamiliar, we present the following extracts from the Public Records, and allow these speak for themselves:—

"Holyrood House, 25th October, 1577. Anent the charge be vertew of our Soverane Lordis letters to John Dingwall of Kildun, to compeir personally befoir my Lord Regentis Grace and Lordis of Secreit Consale on a certain day bypast, to answer to sic thingis as sould be inquirit of him at his coming, tending to the gude order of quietnes of the Earldom of Ros, as under the pain of rebellion and putting him to the horn with certification to him that if he failvet, he should be denouncit rebell and put to the horn, like as at mair length is contentit in the aforesaidis letters. Quilkis being callit, and the said Johnne Dingwall compearand personalie, and John Urquhart, in name of Walter Urguhart, Sheriff of Cromartie, being also personalie present, the said Johnne, in name of the said Sheriff, accusit the said Johnne Dingwall as a contravener of the Actis of Parliament, forbidand to schute at wyld beist daar (deer and roes) and uther vennersoun, in sa far as he with his complices, to the nowmer of xvi. personis, in the month of September last bipast, and at divers utheris tymes preceding, come to the forest of Bray within the Earledom of Ros, pertaining heritable to the said Sheriff, and there slew with hagbutties, bowis, and pistolettis, xv. or xvi. greit deer, to his hurt and skayth, and manifest contempt of our Soverane Lordis authoritie and lawis. To the quilk accusation the said Johnne Dingwall maid answer that he committed na slaughter upoun any daar pertaining to the said Sheriff at ony time except ane deer slain by him with ane arrow about the Feist of Midsummer bipast. Quhairfoir, my Lord Regentis Grace, with avise of the Lordis of Secreit Counsale, in respect of the said Johnne Dingwalli's confessioun maid in manner foresaid, ordainis him to be put to the knowledge of ane assyise for contravening of the aforesaid Actis of Parliament in manner abone written, and justice to be ministrat upoun him as accordis."

Under date 11th December, 1585, we find John Gordon of Pitlurg, becoming caution of Colin Mackenzie of Kintail that he would not

injure Andrew, Lord Dingwall, his tenants, or servants. When the above excerpt is read in the light of that which follows, and in that of Colin's previous conduct as reported, it seems abundantly evident that he had been exercising the rights of the strongest towards the then owner of Dingwall Castle; not only fishing in the strictly preserved waters of the Conon, but when prohibited, breathing fire and slaughter on the owner and his servants.

1586, April, 25th. Caution in £1000 by William Cunningham of Inueralochy, Johnne Vaus in Leith, and Johnne Irving of Kynock (Flowerburn), for Colin Maccenzie of Kintail, that he shall remove his coble, fisheris, and nettis fra the fiching of the watter Conane, within the Sheriffdom of Inverness, and desist and ceis thairfra in tyme coming, conform to the letters raisit at the instance of Andro, Lord Dingwall. Registration of the same was made on the 4th of the following May.

From these records we not only ascertain that the salmon fishery in rivers and their estuaries were held to be one of the main privileges of the lords of the soil, but that at one time they made a serious attempt to take possession of the sea also. That, at least, is what the following passage reads to us:—

1586, November 30th. The whole inhabitants of the burghs of this realm, complain that notwithstanding the encouragement given by the King's Hienes and his predecessors to the trade of fishing in the North parts, and Isles of the same, many hinderances are placed in the way of those who prosecute this industry by such local potentates as Johnne Mackenzie of — (illegible, but probably Gairloch), Rory Mackenzie of Lochgarlin, Coline Mackenzie of Kintail, Torquil Macleod of the Cogoych, Robert Munro of Fowlis, Rory Mackenzie of Lewis, and "certane uthers dwelling in their partis." Not making their appearance when summoned these men were denounced rebels. As a specimen of the political economy then prevalent, it was at the same time provided that those prosecuting the fisheries in Lochbrume "that present yeir" discharge in the first instance their cargoes at "Leith, Brynt-Iland, Kinghorne, Dysart, Pettinweeme, Ansthruther, Carraill, Sanctandrois, and other places necessary; and thairafter sell and mak penny of samekle as necessarilie will serve for the furnishing of the countrye's nixt and adjacent upoun reasonable prices."

The Privy Council Records are perhaps of all others the books

where one might least expect to meet anything of a romantic character, but in a complaint lodged before the Council on the 8th July, 1602, it would really seem as if we had stumbled on an event of this nature; and with its transcription we shall for the present conclude our selections from the National Records.

On that date, Master George Munro, son of the Archdeacon of Ross, and Donald Thornton, residence not specified, complain that the said Donald having committed the education and upbringing of Jonet Thornton, his dochter, to the said Maister George Munro, with qua whom he hopit that scho might have remained in peace and suirtie, yet Rorie Maccanzie of Culteloid (Castle Leod), Kenneth Maccanzie of Killechrist, and others, treated and consulted of tymes together in the toun of the Channonrie of Ros for the abduction of the said Jonet, and on the 26th of April, the said Kenneth Maccanzie, and they, to the number of twenty-five persons, armed with "gunns, pistolettis, and uther forbidden weapons," cam by night to the Chancellor House in Channonrie, and committed the said abduction. Rorie Mackenzie duly appeared in answer to the charge—at the same time acting for Kenneth Mackenzie of Killechrist, and the rest, and in effect denied the forceful abduction, while the pursuers, on their part, "past fra the ravishing." They, however, reserved to themselves the liberty to raise an action before the Judge Criminal. How the case ended is, of course, not stated, though it would seem that the lady—like Lochinvar's bride—was a consenting party to the raid, but our genealogical knowledge of the Mackenzie family is not equal to the determining who the particular Lochinvar was on this interesting occasion.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LEWIS.

Colin Mackenzie, eleventh Chief of the name, died in June, 1594, and was succeeded by his son, Kenneth, in whom the predatory instincts of the family obtained their full development, though in practice they differed as much from the mode of his predecessor as swindling does from buccaneering. This gentleman was elected and chosen to be "ane of the ordinar noumer" of the Privy Council in the following year, taking the usual oath, took his fair share in what then constituted Highland politics, but with the case of his neighbours, the discredited Macdonalds, before him as a warning, he was politic enough to keep his own doorstep well swept. His leading achievement was the adding of the Lewis property to the family possessions; the history of which—condensed to the utmost—we now propose devoting this chapter.

The history of this immense estate—the Æbuda Major of Ptolmey and Richard-forming, as it does, the greater part of the Long Island, has yet to be written. Beginnings, we believe, have been made, and if the work proves at all worthy of the subject, it will be sure to have many interested readers not only in the district, but on the mainland of Ross as well. We shall take for granted that whatever matters of interest from the 13th century onward will therein fall to be dealt with, its early history will have a similar obscurity to that of Ross proper, to which it has for so many centuries formed the chief adjunct. race who erected the great sun temple of Calernish and similar curiosities, the very memory has perished. Nor can the origin of the Celtic people whom we find there at the dawn of history be distinctly traced. Whether as a mixed race of Picts and Scots, they crossed over from the mainland, or overran the islands from Ireland, no one can tell, nor does it much matter if they could. But that a Celtic population was in possession when the Norse invasion occurred, and which had the

bulk of the males exterininated by those fierce marauders previous to their making the Lewis a settlement, has never been questioned. As usual in these cases, however, the females satisfactorily avenged the racial defeat; they produced an improved race, which, while exhibiting the paternal physique, inherited a double portion of the Celtic spirit, with what did not previously exist, a love for the sea superadded.

That the ancient Scottish Church had previous to its supercession by Popery many places of worship in the Lewis, abundant evidence exists to show; but from the condition of things towards the close of the 16th century it would appear that the influences transmitted from it for good had more completely succumbed to those of Popery for evil than in any district of similar extent on the mainland of Ross. Our grounds for believing this will be indicated further on.

One thing, however, is certain, the Macleods—the family whose authority extended at that period over the Island, appear to have been to a man the most unmitigated reprobates which even the Highlands and Islands could show—which is saying a great deal; so that with such examples in high places before them, it can hardly be wondered at that the Lewis had arrived at the condition of an Island Poland, demanding like it a summary ending or mending.

We cheerfully relegate to the future historian of the Lewis the genealogy of the interesting Macleod family—should he think the game worth the candle. On the present occasion our purpose will be sufficiently served by beginning with Roderick, the last of the race who died in actual possession of the Lewis. This individual left two legitimate sons—Tormid, and Torquil Conanach; the latter connected through the mother with the Kintail family, whom, on a frivolous pretext, he had repudiated; and three bastard sons ("a race fertile in bastards"—Hist. F. and Kin.), Torquil Dow, Niel, and Murdo. Which of these was king, and which subjects, it is impossible to say, but not content with an indulgence in internal feuds, they preyed upon whatever ships arrived at their Island waters.

Torpid, with respect to Island turbulence, though the Government were, this condition of things—as might be expected—caused them no little anxiety, though they found it difficult—negotiations having been tried and failed—to hit upon a suitable remedy.

But among society leaders on the spot none took a more lively

interest in the development of the Lewis embroglio than Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail. Here in the providence of the devil and a short distance away, a large estate was being abandoned to the wolves, which would, however, fit admirably into his plaid neuk could it be got hold of! True, his nephew, Torquil Conanach, had therein a younger son's rights; but he appears to have been a fusionless sort of person, valuable, however, in that he could convey the rights in question to his uncle, which he ultimately did.

For a time direct interference on the part of the latter would be manifestly impolitic, but at length the fitting opportunity occurred. The precious brothers having become exhausted in mauling each other, Torquil Dow, in order to keep his hand in practice, embarked certain of his followers in what galleys or birlings were procurable, crossed over to the mainland, laying the Coigach—the property of a branch of the Macleod family, his uncle, it would appear—and part of the Strath of Lochbroom—the property of Kenneth Mackenzie—under contribution. Nothing more seasonable towards carrying out the latter gentleman's purpose could have occurred. He immediately addressed the following letter to the king:—

"May it please Your Majesty-Torquil Dow of the Lews, not contenting himself with the avowit misknowledging of your Hienes authority wherebe he has violat the promises and compromit made before your Majesty, now lately on the 25th December last, has taken upon him, being accompanied with 700 or 800 men, not only of his own bylands neist and adjacent, to prosecute with fire and sword by all kind of good order, the hail bounds of Strath-Coigach, pertaining to Macleod, his elder brother (uncle), likewise my Strath of Lochbroom, quilks Straths, to your majesties great dishonour, but any fear of God himself, hurt and skaith that he hath wasted with fire and sword in such barbarous manner that neither man, wife, bairn, horse, cattle, corn, nor bigging has been spared, but all barbarously burnt and destroyit, quilk barbarity and cruelty, seeing he was not able to perform it but by the assistance and furderance of his neighbouring Ylesmen, therefore beseeches your Majesty by advice of Council, to find some sure remeid wherebe sick cruel tyrannie may be resisted in the beginning. Otherway nothing to be expected for but daily increasing of this malicious

forces to our utter ruin, quha possesses your Majesty's obedience, the consideration quharof and inconveniences quhilk may thairon ensue. I remit to your Hienes guid consideration of whom taking my leif with maist humble commendations of service, I commit your Majesty to the holy protection of God Eternal.

"At the Canonry of Ross, the 3rd day of January, 1596.—Your most humble and obedient subject,

(Signed) Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail."

The reader will, doubtless, have noticed that notwithstanding the ungrammatical character of this letter nothing could be better fitted to arouse a jealous Government to action; or advertise the loyalty and piety of the writer should a fit agent be required for the suggested enterprise.

Kenneth had to wait; but if the date of his letter is compared with that in the Record where the Government are seen taking the preliminary steps towards grappling with the Lewis difficulty, he may with all safety be credited with having furnished the irritating occasion. They resolved as a way out of it to "Plant" there an immigration of settlers of various degree from the south of Scotland, in the hope that by their means the civilization or elimination of the barbarous natives would be the result. The experience was afterwards tried in the "Plantations" of America, and succeeded, but the Lewismen proved of different fibre to the Mohawks of the Hudson, and, as will be seen, it proved a ghastly failure.

The preliminary step consisted of the passing of an Act of Parliament (June, 1598), for depriving of their lands all in the Western Isles who should not show sufficient titles by a particular day—a most arbitrary measure which a desperate emergency alone could justify. In this manner Lewis and Harris, the lands of Dunvegan in Skye, and of Glenelg on the mainland, were declared at the disposal of the Government. The "planting" of the Lewis having in the first instance being resolved upon, a set of gentlemen, chiefly belonging to Fife, associated themselves together as adventurers; namely, the Duke of Lennox; Patrick, Commendator of Lindores; William, Commendator of Pittenween; Sir James Anstruther, younger of that ilk; Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno; James Learmont of Balconie; James Spens of Wormiston;

John Forret of Fingask; David Hume, younger of Wedderburn; and Captain Murray. By the terms of a contract between these individuals and the Government, they were, in consideration of the great expenses to be incurred by them, and the improvements which they were expected to make, freed from any payment of rent for the lands they were to occupy, for seven years. At the end of that time an annual grain rent of one hundred and forty chalders of beir was to commence.

Manifestly this was not the "sure remeid" for which Kenneth Mackenzie had planned. In reply to his letter he was informed that a decree of forfeiture had been passed against the Macleods, while he, with what force he had at command, was ordered to proceed to the Lewis and reduce it to obedience. Under date 15th November, 1598, we find this was in a manner done, and progress reported to that effect. It appears that during this campaign, through the assistance of the Breve, or Judge of the Island, an individual named Morrison—regarding whom see note*—Torquil Dow and many of his followers were captured, reducing the bastard tyrants of the Lewis to two. Kenneth, at the same time, made Tormond, the eldest legitimate son of the last proprietor, his prisoner, whom he describes to the Council as "ane chief and special man of the clan," whom these functionaries, then busy formulating terms with the Adventurers, commanded him to present before them on a certain, blank, day.

By this time, however, the "conqueror of land," as Sir Robert Gordon describes our friend, Kenneth, became aware of the proposed "plantation," and from resentment and policy combined, ignored this order, kept Tormond in Ellandonan Castle as a sure sleeve card against certain eventualities, and, as we shall see, played it with success.

From knowledge of the situation obtained at first hand, Mackenzie could not have but foreseen that nothing but disaster would result from the crude experiment, and that in the Lewis a semblance of order could

^{*}On the excellent authority of Provost Anderson, of Stornoway, it appears that the Breve (correctly speaking, Breitheamh) in question was a Heochan Morrison who held the office in lineal succession from a remote ancestor who had been appointed thereto by the Lords of the Isles on their accession to the Earldom, but in subordination to their chief justice stationed in Islay. He was armed with moral rather than with legal sanctions, as is clear from the fact that neither he nor his office are referred to in the documents formulating or authorising the "Plantation" by the Fife men. The House of Kintail, on obtaining possession of the Lewis, whether on the death of Morrison or not, appointed to that office a clansman named Maciver. For further particulars, see the forthcoming "History of the Lewis," by Provost Anderson.

only be brought about by those acquainted with the habits of the people. At the same time the presence in his vicinity of so many southerns as critics on his movements formed a standing occasion of resentment, which, for obvious reasons, he indulged in secret only. As will be seen it was none the less effective on that account.

In October, 1599, the Adventurers met together in Fife, where they collected a company of soldiers and artificers of all sorts, to the number of five or six hundred men, all under wages, besides volunteers. The ill-chosen season, and the lack of such accommodation as the gentlemen of Fife were accustomed to, induced disease and discouraged the settlers. But, notwithstanding, having selected a proper place for the purpose, Stornoway, they proceeded to build, and soon erected a small town, wherein they set up their household gods.

The initial blunder of settling in that greeting and girning climate so late in the season was not lost on our friend, the Land Conqueror. He was, as we saw, a member of the Privy Council, and dared not publicly traverse the findings of that body, but, all the same, he took early occasion to open communications in secret with the outlawed Macleods, and because of the measures he counselled, may be safely credited with much of the sufferings inflicted on the Adventurers by the barbarous natives. The outlawed brothers-Niel and Murdoch-at the head of their followers had soon come into armed collision with the settlers, but though always easily beaten off, these continuous assaults induced a condition of things in the last degree adverse to the colonising scheme. At sea a ship under Learmont's command was surprised by Murdoch Macleod; Learmont himself was made prisoner and held to ransom, but died in the Orkneys on his way home to procure it. Then a dispute occurred between the two brothers, and Niel felt so aggrieved that he came to terms with the Adventurers, and on condition of obtaining through them a free pardon, agreed to betray his brother, Murdoch, and become their faithful ally. Accordingly, Murdoch was apprehended, sent to St Andrew's, and in due time hanged.

But while he lay in prison awaiting his doom, and notwithstanding the difficulty of understanding his Gaelic speech, he blabbed enough to get our estimable friend, Kenneth Mackenzie, into serious trouble, making a clean breast of that gentleman's tortuous policy, of which he himself was the mere tool and instrument. His virtuous principal was accordingly apprehended and committed to Edinburgh Castle, whence, however, through the friendship of the Chancellor, Lord Dunfermline, and a judicious use of palm oil he contrived to escape.

Niel's followers could look on with great composure while he and his brother fought out their difficulty with dirks, but they drew the line at treachery and the gallows, and the traitor's popularity for a time underwent eclipse. Kenneth Mackenzie having returned, and on being made aware of these things, saw that the time had arrived for playing his sleeve card. Tormod was set at liberty, told to make the most of the fast increasing difficulties of the Fife men, while he did not require to be told that on his appearance every Lewisman who drew sword would rise in his favour. The result justified the forecast. Our astute chief quite aware that Tormod might as hopefully aspire to the Scottish throne as imperil the Mackenzie succession to the Lewis, felt that the cheap interest shown in his favour would have its equivalent in the additional stress to which it would subject the hated Fifemen.

The Adventurers, who in the innocence of their hearts had negotiated the pardon for Niel Macleod, were three Fife lairds, formerly mentioned, Pittenweem, Wormiston, and the heir of Balconie. Soon thereafter, however, Tormod and Niel came to an understanding; a union of interests and forces was determined upon, with the expulsion of the Adventurers as its ultimate object. Niel, thereupon, having fastened a quarrel upon Wormiston, planned and executed an attack upon their camp, which capitulated.

"The terms were ignominious. They were to procure a full pardon for the Macleods, surrender their titles to Tormod, never to return to the Lewis, and leave Spens of Wormiston, and Moneypenny of Pitmilly, as hostages. In 1602 the remission was granted to the Macleods and the hostages released; but a proclamation of a new expedition was issued in July, and set out in September, 1604. Warned, however, by the consequences of the former blunder, the expedition did not actually sail until the following spring. In 1605, the Adventurers, armed on this occasion with letters of fire and sword, in addition to fresh titles, and attended with a considerable force, partly led by William Macwilliam, chieftain of the Clan Gunn, began operations by sending a message to Tormod Macleod, showing that if he would yield unto them in name and behalf of the king, now a more formidable name than it

had been, they should transport him safely to London, where his Majesty then was; and being arrived there, they would not only obtain his pardon, but also suffer him without let or hindrance, to deal by his friends for his Majesty's favour, and for some means whereby he might live. Wherunto Tormod Macleod condescended, and would not venture the hazard of his fortune against so great forces as he perceived ready there to assail him. This did Tormod Macleod against the advice and opinion of his brother Niel, who stood out, and would not yield.

"So the Adventurers sent Tormod Macleod to London, where he caused his Majesty to be rightly informed of his case; how the Lewis was his just inheritance; how his Majesty was sinistrously informed by the undertakers, who had abused his Majesty in making him believe that the same was at his disposition, whereupon proceeded much unnecessary trouble and bloodshed; and thereupon he humbly entreated his Majesty to do him justice, and to restore him to his own. Adventurers, understanding that his Majesty began to harken to the complaint of Tormod Macleod, used all their credit at Court to cross him. In the end they prevailed so far-some of them being the king's domestic servants—that they procured him to be taken and sent home prisoner into Scotland, where he remained captive at Edinburgh until the year 1615, when the king gave him liberty to pass into Holland, to Maurice, Prince of Orange, where Tormod ended his days." writes Sir Robert Gordon, and with respect to the harsh treatment meted out to the unfortunate Tormod he is, without doubt, correct; but he is unquestionably wrong in attributing it to the Adventurers. Macleods of the Lewis, root and branch, were held to be incorrigible, and it had become the fixed resolve of the Government to make a final end of them, legally or otherwise.

The Adventurers, however, did not mend their case much by getting rid of Tormod; Niel still held out (having obtained the reversion of his brother's place as confederate of Kenneth Mackenzie), and by continuous incursions in which he had the aid of Macniel of Barra, Macdonald of Clanranald, and Macleod of Harris, effectually checkmated every attempt on the part of the Adventurers to establish themselves. In 1607, utterly defeated and disheartened, the remnant of the original partners of the Fife company, many of whom had died, or had spent all their means returned to Fife. Thus ended the second

attempt to colonise the Lewis from the south; but there was a third.

The opportunity long desiderated had thus to all appearance arrived, and Kenneth Mackenzie who had kept a sleepless watch, applied in a wav long familiar to Scottish litigants to the Lord Chancellor, Dunfermline, and by that means obtained the Lewis as a gift. But (those buts!) before he could say that virtue was at length suitably rewarded, the thing got wind, the original Adventurers interfered, and the gift was revoked. The chagrin of the Conqueror of Land must in this instance be left to the historical imagination.

By the original Adventurers a grant of these great subjects was made to three gentlemen, two of whom were Fife lairds—James Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino; Sir James Spens of Wormiston; and Sir George Hay of Nethercliff—afterwards Lord Kinnoul. Balmerino was, however, convicted in 1609, of treason, but Hay and Spens went to the island with a force which they considered sufficient to give good account of Niel Macleod, but the ill-luck, bad management, and sinister influence of Kenneth Mackenzie, which, together, had wrecked the two former expeditions, bore with equally disastrous effect on the third and last.

Here, as before, Kenneth Mackenzie kept judiciously in the background, he remained at Ellandonan, but he sent thither his brother, Rorie, our old acquaintance, ostensibly to aid the Adventurers by his counsel, but really to embarass them, so far as that could be done without adding to the already existing suspicions. Owing to the miscalculation which from the first seemed an accompaniment of those expeditions, their supply of provisions happened to run short, and an application was in consequence made to Kenneth Mackenzie, on whose good offices he had himself ordered them to reckon, and that gentleman made a prompt and characteristic response. He forwarded a cargo of meal, duly advising them of the fact, but previously advised his confederate, Niel Macleod, by a sure messenger, to seize the ship during her passage, and convert her lading to his own use, which, nothing loth, that outlaw did. Thus a fatal blow was struck at what with all its crudeness promised so much for the Lewis, while appearances were effectually saved; for not until Niel Macleod had risen from the rank of confederate to that of enemy did a knowledge of this inhuman stratagem become public property. Its net result, as a "coup," was,

however, that Spens and Hay, having failed to apprehend Macleod, and with a starving garrison on their hands, became utterly sick of the adventure, and dismissed the most of their people. Both gentlemen returned to Fife, leaving a party to garrison their camp, promising to forward not only all needful supplies but ample reinforcements.

Immediately on the departure of the leaders, Macleod, assisted by his nephew and men from all parts, stormed the camp, burnt the fort, and making prisoners of all who had been left behind, shipped them home to Fife, on giving their oaths that they would never again come to the Lewis on that pretence, which they never did.

Thus the reducing to futility of the project for the civilization of the Lewis, and the scareing away of the Fife Adventurers—who, it must be admitted, in little, if anything, resembled the Pilgrim Fathers*—was after many vexacious delays satisfactorily accomplished, but much remained to be done before the Lewis could become a veritable possession. Our estimable friend, Kenneth, accordingly, having made his approaches in the recognised way, obtained through his ally, the Chancellor, and on the plea of consuming zeal for the civilization of the Lewis, a gift of Balmerino's forfeited third; bought for a trifle in cash that apportioned to Spens of Wormiston; while by bartering certain woods in Gairloch, required by Hay of Nethercliff for iron smelting purposes, he in that way secured that gentleman's third also.

All impediments being thus removed a charter under the Great Seal was granted to Kenneth Mackenzie and his heirs, by which they became the lawful possessors of this great property. Therein, however, it was expressly stipulated that the work of civilization begun by the Fife Adventurers would be carried to completion; and that in the furtherance of this object—as was previously enjoined on these—the district would be divided into four parishes, and all due encouragement afforded to the preachers to be appointed to them. Simultaneously and as a further reward for his future well-doing, our friend was, in 1609,

^{*}Dr Macrie, in his life of Melville, refers in not very complimentary terms to one of those Adventurers, James Learmont, younger of Balcony, the author of a placard affixed to the Reformer's lodging, threatening to bastinade him and chase him out of the town. Melville produced it to the congregation at the end of a sermon, and described the author of it, who was sitting before him, "as a Frenchified, Italianised, jolly gentleman, who had polluted many marriage beds, and now boasted that he would pollute the Church of God by bastinading His servants." As fowls of a feather usually met together, the inference of the text may be considered as having some foundation.

created Lord Kintail, a title he lived but two years longer to enjoy.

Thus, then, did the Lewis become the property of the Mackenzies of Kintail; in whose hands, and on the whole, for better rather than for worse, it remained for about 230 years. But though Kenneth Mackenzie could, in the shady manner detailed, make it his possession, he could no more reduce its savagery to a semblance of order than throw a bridge over the Minch. Happily for both Island and proprietor there was at hand a competent administrator in the person of Rorie Mackenzie, later on of Coigach and Castle Leod, who thereupon entered on those duties which procured for him the well-known appellation of the Tutor of Kintail. He was an excellent organiser, a valiant combatant, and successful general, and noted for an intense hatred of anarchy in every form, as his being frequently employed under the Government sufficiently shows. In fact, apart from the religious element, he might be fitly described as a provincial Cromwell; indeed, if his portrait, as given in the history of his descendants, is at all lifelike, his features must have greatly resembled the more celebrated anti-Anarchist.

From the manner in which the occurrences are related, readers of Clan Histories are led to believe that when Lord Kenneth first visited the Lewis as proprietor, little remained to do in the way of inducing lawabiding habits among the people than to set on foot the ordinances of the Gospel, his lordship having, it is said, taken with him, as a step in that direction, the Rev. Farquhar Macrae, then minister of Gairloch. Nothing could be more misleading. It is doubtful whether his lordship ever visited the island, or if he did, ever went outside the bounds of Stornoway. It would be more than his life was worth to do so. honour of this reformation, therefore, belongs exclusively to the apostolic Macrae through his abundant labours, while his peaceful mission procured for him absolute safety during his itinerancy among the uncivilized natives. He reports having gained over many to Christianity—a suggestive statement—indicative of the usual effects of Popery, and establishing the position taken up at the commencement of this chapter; and it may be added, no less so of the barbarous rule of the Macleods. He also baptised a large number in fortieth year of their age; and to legitimise their children married many others to those women with whom they were cohabiting.

The great disturbing factor in the Lewis troubles, however, remained in the person of Niel Macleod, and how to get rid of him was for a time a question whereby the wits of the ablest of the Mackenzies were exercised to the utmost; for Niel was as cunning as a fox, and though once successfully made a tool of by a still most astute "vulpes," was now fully resolved to pay off with interest that and other scores as opportunity offered. He, accordingly, remained very much at large, to our order-loving friend, the Tutor's, great mortification, and additional powers had to be applied for. At this point our sole authorities are the Privy Council Records, and we shall do little more than quote them verbatim.

Under date 16th July, 1610, and taking their cue from our estimable friend, the Lewis is described as, "ane infamous byke of lawles and insolent lymmaris, under the command of the traytor, Niel Maccloud, aforesaid; thairfoir the sadis lordis hes made and constitute the said Kenneth, Lord Kintail, His Majestieis justice and commissioner over the hail bound s of the Lewis to the extent underwritten," that is, having collected sufficient force, he would pass "with thame to the Lewis, and thair, with fire and sword and all kynds of hostilities to search, seek, hunt, follow, and pursew the said Niel and his complices and assistantis and partakeris, and to mell, confiscat, and intromit with thair goodis and geir, etc., etc." Lord Kintail had hardly, however, got his party together when a vexatious interruption occurred. In the September following the "Traytor Niel," who was nothing if not astute, managed to get hold of a pirate ship which had given much trouble to the Government, and when reporting the fact to the Council, stated that he held both ship and crew for them, and prayed to be released from both. For a person of his antecedents this was held to be a most meritorious performance, sufficient to atone for many pecadilloes. Patrick Greive of Burntisland, was accordingly dispatched for the ship and crew, and to his continued mortification, Sir Rorie, about to begin operations against the "traytor, Niel Macleod," was instructed to stay all proceedings of that nature. It is, however, doubtful whether the Tutor gave any heed to the order in question, or stayed his operations to any degree. He had his nephew's interests to consider (Lord Kintail died about that time) rather than the hysterical behests of a fickle Government, and he knew Niel too well to allow him liberty to re-establish himself. It is even

more than probable that to the increased vigilence he exercised may be attributed the final outbreak on the part of Macleod, referred to in the following extracts.

On the 16th August, 1611, it is recorded that "upoun the decease of Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord Kintail, who was his Majestie's justice and commissioner in these boundis, they have now of lait risen in armis in ane professed and avowit rebellion against the Tutor of Kintail, whom his Majesty and Council hes authorised and constitute in that place of justiciarie possessit be his deceased brother." In the exercise of these functions the Tutor planned and fought—the Lewis was clearly proving a white elephant to the House of Kintail—while Niel Macleod and his party seemed to be endowed with invulnerability; and in this way another year passed away.

Under date 28th May, 1612, we find it recorded that there was no part of the Isles in rebellion but the Lewis, "the traytor Niel Maccloud who hes usurpit upoun him the authoritie and possessoun of the Lewis," which discreditable proceeding the Lords of Council did their best to remedy, by giving a commission to Rorie Mackenzie of Coigach, Tutor of Kintail, Colin Mackenzie of Killin; Murdo Mackenzie, thair brother; Alexander Mackenzie of Coull; and Alexander Mackenzie of Davoch-maluac; for reducing the said lymmaris to his Majesty's obedience; with power to convocate the leiges, press into service "lynfaddis" (long-ships), gayleys, birlings, and boatis; exceptions being expressly made of those belonging to persons of the name of Ross, Fraser, and Munro. There was at the same time issued leters of fire and sword in the hands of these commissioners.

By these drastic measures Niel Macleod and his body-guard were driven to extremities, and as a last refuge took possession of the natural fortification of Berrisay, a rocky islet about four hundred yards off the coast of the parish of Uig. We shall allow Sir Robert Gordon narrate the catastrope:—

"The Clan Mackenzie then gathered together the wives and children of allower that were in Berrissay, and such as by way of affinity and consanguinity, weithin the island did appertain to Niel and his followers, and placed them all appear a rock within the sea, where they might be seen and heard from Berissays. They avowed and protested that they would suffer the sea to overwhelm them the next flood if Niel Macleod

and his company did not presently surrender the fort; which pitiful spectacle did so move Niel Macleo'd and them to compassion that they immediately yielded the rock and left the Lewis, wherupon the women and children were rescued and rendered."

The Clan historian tells us that Niel escaped during the confusion of the capture, was pursued as far as Glasgow by Alexander Mackenzie (of Coul), apprehended, and delivered up to the Council, by whom he was promptly hanged. It would have been better for the reputation of the Macleods if the story was true. Under date 2nd March, 1613, we read (P. C. R.) that by some treachery not explained, Niel Macleod and his son, Donald, fell into the hands of their relative, Rorie Macleod of Dunvegan, whose interest lay in imitating the loyalty of the lucky and grasping Mackenzies. He made both prisoners, and presented them in person to the Council. The gift was in the highest degree acceptable, but his previous bad record was against him, and to make sure of his future good conduct, though he was knighted on the spot, he had to find securities in 10,000 merks, that he would appear when called upon. Niel Macleod was tried and hanged next month, while his son, Donald, was banished from Scotland. The cacoethus of loyalty seems at that epoch to have been catching. Under the same date we find that "Alexander Maccloud, brother to Rorie of Herries, hes of late taen and apprehended the cheif officers to the noumer of five of the late traytor Niel Maccloud." Alexander is ordered to deliver them into the custody of Rorie Mackenzie of Coigach within twenty days, that the said Rorie may present them before the Council. He was subsequently, with the view of saving expenses, ordered to have them tried at Inverness.

The trial and and execution of Niel Macleod did not quite settle the Lewis difficulty. Three years after he was "justified," and under date August 12th, 1616, reference is made to the commission of three year before in favour of the Tutor and his friends for reducing the Lewis to obedience, which commission being expired, "and the said thevis takand new courage and braith thairupon ar become more insolent nor formerlie they wer"; therefore his Majesty and the Lords of Council now reconstitute the said commissioners with all the former powers of requisition to press—the people of the name of Fraser, Ross, and Munro being, as before, exempted—possibly on account of the existence of

chronic feuds. That was by no means the last of the Lewis disturbances. There still remained a party there inimical to Mackenzie rule, and loyal to the forfeited Macleods, one of whom was a Malcolm Macrorie Macleod, who had been exiled in Islay, and had been concerned in a rebellion there—had turned up in the Lewis so late as August, 1622, giving occasion to much anxiety. A new commission is accordingly granted to Coline, Lord Kintail; while associated with him we find Sir Rorie Mackenzie of Coigach, and such other Mackenzies as Applecross, Coul, Findon, Spynie, Dalmartine, Rerack, Davochmaluac, and Shawbost, with power to impress, as on the former occasion; the Munroes, Frasers, and Rosses excepted. In all probability this commission answered the purpose, and the Lewis, down to the period of the Crofters Commission, ceased to disturb the slumbers of the Government.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PROSCRIBED MACGREGORS IN ROSS.

Our narrative of the rise of the House of Kintail and their crowning acquisition and settlement in the Lewis have carried us well into the seventeenth century, and necessitated the passing over "pro tem" many occurrences which, if omitted altogether, would leave our story of the period very lop-sided indeed. We have already, we think, sufficiently shown that human nature of the shady variety was very much in evidence in the "best society" there during the latter half of the sixteenth century; but who would for a moment suppose that the same class would furnish us with a practitioner in the vulgar vice of witchcraft; and to render the matter more amazing still, that practitioner the wife of the truly pious Robert More Munro, baron of Fowlis. It reads as if the Witch of Endor turned out to be a daughter of the Prophet Samuel, but strange though the matter seems, no fact of the period can be better authenticated. We have it related at length in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials; but a condensed account is all that can be given here.

Our excellent friend, Robert Munro, was twice married. As we have had occasion to notice, his first wife was a daughter of the politic John Mackenzie of Killin, by whom he had two sons, Robert and Hector. After his first wife's death he had quartered upon him—as many good men before and since have had for the development of their faith and patience—the worm that never dies, in the form of a senseless, malignant wife. This creature was a daughter of the unruly Balnagown family, and by her he had at least one son, George, around whom much tragic interest centered.

Most people have a supreme object in life—lawful or otherwise—its pursuits frequently becoming a tyrannical impulse. It was especially so with this lady, and it had also this singularity, she shared it at all points

with her brother, George. Brother and sister entertained a violent hatred to the wife of the former; and an equally violent admiration for the wife of Robert Munro, junior; the latter gentleman being as cordially hated by his step-mother as was her sister-in-law. Here then were two lives standing in the way of a diabolic hatred and an equally diabolic love, and the question considered was not the criminal character of these passions, but how both were to be made away with, so as to escape the gallows. The means accordingly chosen to meet this exigency was the Black Art, then in great repute, and in consequence the incident has come to be known in Scottish History as the Fowlis Withcraft case.

Notwithstanding the concealment practiced, the crime (witchcraft was a crime in those days), became known, and she was duly prosecuted. It appears that her diabolic design was conceived in 1567, and soon thereafter she entered into negotiations with various practitioners of the Black Art in her neighbourhood. Her first confederate was a William Macgillivray, whom she feed with a piece of linen cloth, and afterwards with sums of money. He was, however, soon found to be a mere pretender. Agnes Roy, a notorious witch, was soon after employed to secure the services of a mighty sorceress named Marion Mackean Macalister, but better known all over the country by her alias of "Loisc na Lotar" (burn the ladle), derived, no doubt, from some untoward accident in the course of her "practice." She was brought to Fowlis, and lodged with Christian Ross Malcolmson, another Black Artist, not of great eminence, but fitted to give a moral support to more able professors. Christian was also sent to Dingwall to bring from thence another noted practitioner, named John Macmillan, together with Thomas Mackean or Mackenrick, and several other young but promising neophytes. This wretched crew, being assembled at Canorth, images of the Master of Fowlis and the Lady of Balnagown were formed of butter, and shot at by "Loise na Lotar" with an elf arrow; that is one of those flint arrow heads, believed by the ignorant to be the weapons of Fairy Land, but which really formed the business ends of our barbarous ancestors' projectiles. The shot was repeated three times, the orthodox rubric, but the archer failed to score! On another day images of clay were set up and shot at, with similar discouraging results. We are told that linen cloth had been provided wherewithal to swathe the images should they

have been hit, in which case they would have been placed under the stank bridge of Fowlis, with, it was believed, fatal results to the persons represented.

Sorcery proving ineffectual, as indeed it always did when the imagination of the victims did not co-operate, Lady Munro and her brother were soon afterwards described as meeting in a kiln on the farm of Drummond, with the view of deciding on the next step, and poison came to be the instrumentality fixed upon. Two several attempts were made in this direction, but, happily, both miscarried as far as Robert Munro was concerned, but it was otherwise with the young lady of Balnagown, although the results were not immediately fatal. This must have been disappointing to Lady Munro, for she is reported as saying, "that she would do by all kinds of means wherever they might be had of God in heaven or the devil in hell, for the destruction of Marjory Campbell." After reading this speech one is disposed to admit that our ancestors may have had some reason on their side when they made holocausts of female fiends of this type.

Lady Fowlis "tholed ane Assize," and as will have been anticipated, escaped the due penalty of her misdeeds; became a widow, and—will the reader believe it?—in spite of her record secured another husband in the person of William Gordon of Brodlands. She also instituted similar legal proceedings against her mortal enemy, Hector Munro, who had succeeded to the property, as the reader may see at length in the aforesaid work, or in the more accessible Chambers' Domestic Annals.

One might suppose that those cruel acts of the Scottish Legislature, whereby, as the diligent reader of his country's history knows so well, the Clan Macgregor were like so much vermin devoted to extermination, could not under any circumstances call for mention in a work dealing with the Province of Ross, seeing that the home of the people was in far-away Perthshire; but as will be seen from what follows, some very real and very creditable Ross-shire History links itself inseparably with these Acts; and thus the story of their inception, though often told, must here be told again.

The Macgregors occupied a considerable portion of strong country in the Highlands of Perthshire, and for a Clan on the borders of the Lowlands were numerous. So far as our reading goes, they in point of character were neither better nor worse than other Highland tribesmen, a little worse, perhaps, than the Macphersons, and a little better than the Macdonalds.

Their territories were bounded on one side by the Royal Forest of Glenartney, and, unfortunately, between them and its Ranger, Drummond of Drummond-Ernach, a serious feud existed. The origin of this feud is unknown, but from the form vengeance at last assumed, many injuries must have been inflicted and retaliated, until Drummond's reprisals at last became of a wanton and unendurable character. On a day in the year 1588, he was met in the Forest by a party of the Macgregors and slain. They then took his head with them concealed in one of their plaids, called at the house of Ardvorlich, the mistress of which was a sister of the slain man, and demanded refreshments, which the lady dared not refuse. She placed bread and cheese before them, then went in quest of more substantial viands, and while thus engaged they placed the head of her brother on the table, filling the mouth with bread and cheese. The poor woman on returning at once recognised the features, screamed in horror, and fled from the house a raving maniac. Meantime the Macgregors, taking the gory trophy with them, proceeded to the old Church of Balquidder, where soon after, it is said, the whole Clan assembled, each in turn laying his hand on the slain man's head and swearing to defend the perpetrators of the deed "against all deadly."

The savagery of the Ardvorlich incident was indeed unique, though in the history of Clan feuds many acts still more barbarous are recorded, the burning of Contin Church and villagers by the Macdonalds, for example, but its very uniqueness seems to have fairly turned the head of the Government, then presided over by the "wisest fool" in Europe; and with a barbarism still greater and less to be excused, forthwith decreed the virtual extermination of the whole Clan. The maxim, "treat a people as savages and you make them savages," had here, as will be seen, ample confirmation.

To the foregoing outrage and in pursuance of the policy indicated then, were the inception of these Acts due. But the Macgregors were a brave people, their country was strong, and their Highland neighbours friendly, and to these circumstances it was doubtless owing that though for years the whole power of the Scottish Crown was arrayed against them, they not only contrived to exist, but made such reprisals on their persecutors as drove these to their wits' end.

A policy of extermination having been determined on, it became a crime for any of the lieges to aid or shelter (intercommune with) the Macgregors in any way, as witness the following extract:—

Under date April, 1611, there is recorded a Commission plenipotentiary to the Earl of Argyll, whereby he is authorised by "Justice and the sword to ruit oute and extirpit all of the race of the Clan Gregouris, their assistors and pertakers," while he was to see to it that the females of the tribe were to be branded upon the face with a red-hot key! These, with the children of those slain were to be transported from their native haunts to parts of the Lowlands, while those who in any way aided them were to be fined in the most merciless way.

Evidently many of the Macgregors had by this time found shelter among the hills of Ross, and had there settled down into law-abiding habits, while together with their hosts-among whom they numbered the best men in the Province-they would henceforth have given or received no trouble, had the notion not entered into the head of "God's silly vassal" and his councillor, the Earl of Argyle, that money in quantity could be had out of this good Samaritanship. The humanity that opened the doors to brother Celts when classed with wolves and hunted with beagles had accordingly to be paid for; and our view is, that highest among the honours that may be claimed for Ross in general, and Dingwall in particular, is this, that a number of its people-some of them of humble rank—found themselves sufferers on this score. the fines to which intercommuners with the Macgregors were liable, 221/2 per cent. went into the pocket of the modern Solomon, the remainder, after paying expenses, going into that of the Earl of Argyle, these penalties being in all cases rigorously exacted. It appears from the Privy Council Records that for the resett of an "ordinary" Macgregor, a tenth of the means of the resetter, ascertained by valuation, was the appropriate fine; but that for resetting any one of the outstanding "twenty-four lymaris" it was to be a fifth. But as soon as the twenty-four had been reduced to twelve, the names of these were to be published with the intimation that the landlords on whose lands any of them should be found, should be not only liable for the ordinary penalty of resett, but personally liable for all the crimes past and to

come which could be proved against the outlaw; could tyranny, even in a state of dotage, go further? Here follows the Ross-shire list, mainly Wester Ross it will be noticed, every penny of which was exacted without mercy, though, doubtless, many participated in the honourable crime without detection.

Sir Rorie Mackenzie of Coigach and Castle Leod, out of sight the ablest and best Highlander of his time, heads the list with the astounding sum for that period of £,4000, while his cousin, Rorie Mackenzie of Redcastle, is mulcted in the handsome sum of 4000 merks; surely each must have sheltered whole companies of those outcasts. Gillechallum Machutchioun in Logie (Conanside), £,66 13s. 4.; William Bain, Litster (Dyer), in Dingwall, £1; Master John Mackenzie, minister of Dingwall, £1333 6s. 8d.; Robert Ross, in Little Farness, £100; John Munro, Lemlair, 100 merks; John Robertson, in Dingwall, 100 merks; Alexander Roy Macmillan, Dingwall, 50 merks; Alastair Bain of Logie (Conan Mains), 1000 merks; David Ross, appeirand of Balnagown, £1000; Ay Macbean, Macrob in Knockanauld (Knockbain), Dingwall, 200 merks; John Maceane Vic Bayne, in Caldwell (Blackwells?), 100 merks; James Innes of Inneurbreakie, £,1000; Patrick Macinteir, of Balnaspic, £20; Donald Macjamie Macgaw, £20; Angus Macjamie Macgaw, £,20. These sums were to be paid within fifteen days on pain of rebellion and escheat of goods. As all were, for the period, excessive, it is not to be wondered at that the Mackenzies implicated found it most difficult to raise them and, though time had been granted, they at its expiry petitioned for more. It should also be remembered when reading the next extract, that our friend, Rorie Mackenzie, formed then for the Highlands not only the executive right hand of the Government, but their brain also; notwithstsanding we find "ane missive from his Majesty anent the continuation granted to the Tutor of Kintail, Master John, and Rorie Mackenzie of Redcastle, for payment of their fynes, and direction given accordingly that no new continuation sal be grantit."

However, notwithstanding these persecutions the bold Macgregors survived them all, and now occupy honourable positions all the world over as Macgrigors, Macgregors, Grigors, and Gregories; nor should it seem surprising if the existing members of the Clan kept a warm place in their hearts for Ross in general, and for the burgh of Dingwall in particular, and an equally warm contempt for the foolish and mis-

chievous king, from whom they and Scotland, as a whole, suffered so much.

The troubles resulting to many in Ross from their humane behaviour to the unfortunate Macgregors have led us a second time over the boundary line—the commencement of the seventeenth century—from which a new order of things in Church and State date themselves, and to which we must now return.

There are sufficient reasons for believing that from the era of the Reformation down to the present, there existed in Ross a succession of divinely-commissioned ministers, who successfully preached the doctrines of the Gospel, and lived in strict correspondence. That their hands were held up by a similar succession of like-minded laymen in greater proportions has never been disputed, though both together and all along formed but a fraction of the population. With respect to the former class, this was certainly the case during the first decade of the seventeenth century, for at the Aberdeen Assembly (1605) Master John Munro, minister of Tain, was the only one from Ross, or even north of the Spey, courageous enough to take living and liberty in his hand, and enter an appearance there. But what was amiss with respect to numbers was made up by intensity of piety, and between them they so held up the Scriptural Standard of Morals that impiety was greatly restrained, while the stipend-lifter-like the poor, always with us-had frequent occasion to complain of the discouragements they occasioned his somniferous ministry. Though the names of most of those excellent ones are no longer remembered upon earth, they are duly recorded in heaven, and will one day be read out in the hearing of all whom it will concern; on the other hand, the names of several of the stipend-lifters of the same period, should they happen to be amissing from the Celestial Record, are, at all events, with their sinister performances, written large in the books of the Privy Council, and as forming the gendarmerie of the Stewart religion-then coming largely into the ascendant-they call for reproduction here.

We have already, and at some length, referred to one of those unfortunate clerics, John Mackenzie, Archdeacon of Ross, but, as will be seen, that individual merely formed one of a galaxy. It would indeed seem from the frequency with which the name Mackenzie appears among this class at the period in question, that the Church formed the happy

hunting ground for many of the junior members of that historic race. The pay was certainly small, but then it was sure, and however unfit the individual might be for the pastoral function, unless his ill-behaviour brought him into collision with the executive—as will be seen it frequently did—his connection with the powerful House of Kintail would, in ordinary times, effectually screen his minor pecadillos from the censure of his plebcan co-Presbyters. Here, to begin with, are three samples of the major offences above referred to:—

Under date 11th August, 1587, we read in the Privy Council Records that John Mackenzie of Gairloch, assisted by Master Murdoch Mackenzie, parson of Lochkerron, and accompanied by a party of armed men, assaulted James Sinclair, Master of Caithness, and James Paxton, his servant, while they were living in a quiet and peaceable manner in the house of William Robson, in the Chanonrie of Ross, threatening to set the house in fire over their heads. "Moreover at the same time they reft and awaytuke fra the said complainers, thair horses, sadlies, and other geir worth 500 merks." John Mackenzie, having failed to appear, is denounced rebel and put to the horn. From the above it will not be wondered at that on Mr Æneas Sage—the next incumbent but one—being appointed to Lochcarron, he found the parish all but in a state of cannibalism.—See Sage's Memorabilia.

April, 16th, 1616. Complaint of the King's advocate, George Graham of Drynie, Donald Macvean, and others, as follows: - "Mr John Mackenzie, minister of Dingwall, out of hatred to the pursuer, and without respect to the Godlie, honest, and peaceable behaviour which beseemeth ane of his calling and professoun, did on the 26th of August last send his tenant Rorye Mackenzie, Macalister Roy, in Sligo (Dingwall Glebe), armed with a long musket charged with many bullets, to wait at ane hous end, behind ane dyke of devotis within the said George's awin toun of Drynie, to attack the said laird. When the said Rorye the pursuer single and him alane with ane boy following him with his sword at his back going and walking forth the highway, he dischargit the musket at him, and lodged seven pellets in his body, five of which still remain there. When pursuer fell, the said Rorye came runnand upoun him, and with the musket clubbed the said George and left him for dead. Immediately thereafter John Macarthur, servitor to the said John Mackenzie, and John Clerach, servitor to the said Rorye, persaving

the said George going away on his awn feet, they being bodin in feir or weir, with durkis, swordis, targes, and pistoletis on their body, followed the said George with all their speed, and the said John Macclerich, schott and dischargit ane pistolet at him, and he narrowly escaped with his lyfe." The pursuers appearing for themselves, but the defenders not appearing, they are denounced rebels. We have previously seen, when writing of the proscribed Macgregors, that parson Mackenzie was by no means destitute of the milk of human kindness, but from his being the instigator of the above outrage it is clear that it held divers explosive materials in solution. The above sentence, as a matter of course, put an end to his Dingwall pastorate. He went to reside on a small property in Tollie (Brahan), which he held on very equivocal terms from Seaforth, terms which subsequently underwent a searching investigation, as may be seen in the Dingwall Glebe Case.—See Dingwall P. Records.

As our next illustration we give the following extract from the "Domestic Annals of Scotland," a compilation by that man of light and leading, Robert Chambers. In that work he takes at his own valuation, Mr John Mackenzie, "sometime minister of the kirk of Urray,* and who had been deposed during the troubles because he would not subscribe the Covenant and comply with the sinful course of the time, was banished in 1639, first to England and thereafter to Ireland. After His Majesty's Pacification closed at the Birks, and by the moven (intercession) of his friends, he re-entered the ministry, yet still retaining his principles of loyalty and integrity . . . was again deposed only for refusing to preach men's humours and passions as a trumpet of sedition." This, formulated by himself, was John Mackenzie's case when claiming compensation from the Restoration Government for his holding by the cause of "loyalty and integrity." Chambers, it is clear, never inquired whether or not another side existed of this story, a lack of service which it will be our business to make good, first by showing what sort of a person this John Mackenzie, formerly minister of Urray, and subsequently Archdeacon of Ross, actually was; taking our information from the

^{*}Sceir ura, new parish, formed by joining together those of Bron and Killechriost, the latter forming the Church edifice.

Genealogy of the Mackenzies, "By a Person of Quality," and the equally veracious pages of Scott's Fasti.

He was a natural son of Sir Roderick Mackenzie, the famous Tutor of Kintail, was settled in Urray subsequent to 1630, was deposed in 1639, not, of course, for non-subscription to the Covenant, an offence never by itself visited with deposition and banishment. The sentence, through moyen (influence of Seaforth probably) was removed in 1643, when he was settled in Suddie, thence in 1644 translated to Tarbat, where he distinguished himself in supporting Seaforth's Remonstrance. But in 1650 he was deposed for the second time, not for "refusing to preach men's passions as a trumpet of sedition," but "for scandalous familiarity with a woman." To the Restoration Government errata of that sort were considered as not deserving mention, and accordingly he received as compensation the sum of £,166 13s. 4d. stg., together with the parish of Fodderty. Thence he was translated to the Archdeaconal church of Killearnan. According to the Genealogy he died at Tarrel in 1666, and was buried at Tarbat, according to Fasti, in 1700, and, "through witchcraft," it is not stated where. Clearly, if Chambers had consulted Scott's Fasti he would have left John Mackenzie, sometime minister of Urray, and his martyrdom, severely alone!

It will be expedient at this stage to give a brief sketch of the fortunes of the leading Provincial Family and its main branch, down to and inclusive of the period when the Covenant became the main factor in Scottish affairs.

We saw that Kenneth, Lord Kintail, died in 1611, leaving to his son, Colin, a greatly increased, though much embarassed family property. We have also seen that during his long minority his estates were administered, and administered well, by his uncle, the famous Tutor of Kintail. For his manifold public services in the cause of civil order from the Butt of Lewis to distant Tiree, he was knighted, and is described in the Records as Sir Rorie Mackenzie, of Coigach and Castle Leod. The latter typical fortalice was built by him during the second decade of the seventeenth century, chiefly of the abounding boulders of the district, what of ashler there is was quarried out of Ault-na-charasht, on the eastern flank of Knockfarrel; quarrying and carting being an enforced tribute levied upon his tenantry, giving that appellation to the burn which it still retains. In the sketch of his life given in Fraser's Earls

of Cromarty, we read that one of Sir Roderick's first steps, "was to assault the rebels in the Lewis, which he did so suddenly after his brother's death, that what the Fife Adventurers had spent years and much treasure in, he in a few months accomplished." This is how much of what passes for Highland History "is wrote." Fraser also repeats the story, borrowed from the family documents, "that his younger brother, Alexander, chased Niel Macleod to Glasgow, apprehended him, and delivered him to the Council, who executed him immediately." From the authentic facts adduced in what we have written of the Lewis. the reader will be dissposed to think that the less general history is written by family historians, or borrowed from family documents, the better! Sir Roderick died at Castle Leod in his forty-eighth year, and was buried at Dingwall. In his last will and testament he directed that his body be buried "in the kirk-zeard of Dinguall, at the eist gewill of the kirk thairof. At whilk I ordain Johnne Maccanzie, my eldest son and appeirand air, and Dame Maccloud, my spous, to caus build ane lairge fair Iyle or Chappel, weil wowit abone and theckit with hewin stone." Instead of religiously carrying out the last wishes of one of the most eminent men of the time, they dug deep into the soil of the church-yard, built a small arched vault, its roof level with the surrounding soil, and at the door of which a short flight of steps led down. The door has long since disappeared, and when the place was opened up a few years ago, nothing was found there but a few bones.

Colin, Lord Kintail, in due time came of age, appeared at Court, where his handsome exterior made a favourable impression on King James, and in consequence—though the pacification of the Lewis was the reason assigned—was raised a step in the peerage as the Earl of Seafort, since corrupted into Seaforth. He seems to have been a very ordinary sort of person, making up for his insignificance by a wasteful extravagance.

Meantime King James' ecclesiastico-politico drama, after incredible pains during its rehearsal was being got on the boards, and to secure its success all the more influential critics were either sent into prison or banished. Andrew Melville, after a long incarceration in the Tower, was permitted to banish himself; his brother, James, the most feared of all, was immured in England, while the saintly Robert Bruce was for many years confined in the town of Inverness, to its great spiritual

advantage. The minor critics, as a pledge for their good behaviour, were kept under due police supervision at home, but even this policy could not keep them quite silent. Notwithstanding these elaborate precautions the piece dragged; the audience favoured with passes could not be kept from hissing and interjecting comments, which kept the Royal stage manager in a perpetual ferment. Accordingly, emendations with respect to details were frequently effected, but in spite of the diligence of the claque, these were received with more contumely than the previous text. Matters, however, became worse on the removal of the Playright to England, for the power of England was now at his back, the regular drama—there long before naturalised—was constantly in view as an object lesson, and the scene-shifters he had left in charge were less scrupulous than himself, so that now the least token of disapproval was marked out with heavy pains and penalties.

A glance homeward will here be in order. Our information regarding ecclesiastical matters in Ross, during the first thirty-seven years of the seventeenth century is of the scantiest description. There were three Presbyteries: that of Channonry, extending from Killearnan to Cromarty; that of Tain, from Alness to the Dornoch Firth; while the remaining part of the Province constituted that of Dingwall. But the Records of the two former go no further back than the period of the Revolution, and even that of the latter, by far the most ancient in the north, date but from 1649. As previously mentioned, three bishops held office there during these years; the two Lindsays and John As is well known, these were courtiers first, and very remotely pastors. Their chief function, that of presiding as constant Moderators of Synods, they usually relegated to subordinates, and merely visited the bishopric, though occasionally they did a little ordaining, and probably it was by the grace of Bishop Lindsay, under orders from the king, that our disreputable acquaintance, Archdeacon Mackenzie, "was receivit," after obtaining the Royal pacification or pardon.

The institution of patronage was, of course, the only door by which the Church was entered; we have seen how some of its incumbents served their cures, nor is there any reason to doubt that three-fourths of the ministers of Ross were little, if any, better. In these circumstances the laity, led by the more gifted members of their own class, would do their best to edify one another, as we, in fact, have seen them

do, in almost equally deplorable pre-Disruption times. The Royal interlude did not appeal to their fears as it did to their brethren further south, for it made no alteration in the form of public worship, and the seats they occupied in the upper gallery was so far removed from the footlights, that they were unable to distinguish the horns of the mitre, in constant, as opposed to elective moderators.

The original Playright died (1624), but the entertainment proceeded all the same, for his successor entered into every detail with even greater zeal, engaged certain leading artists, and introduced stage effects which put the achievements of his father completely in the shade.

Viewed as a stage manager, Charles I. was by no means lucky. His choice of performers was bad. His "star" artist was the famous, or infamous Archbishop Laud, personally portrayed as follows:--" The mean forehead, the pinched features, the peering eyes, of the prelate suit admirably with his disposition. They mark him as a lower kind of Saint Dominic, differing from the fierce and gloomy enthusiast who founded the Inquisition, as we might imagine the familiar imp of a spiteful witch to differ from an arch-angel of darkness." Having also authority to nominate to the secondary parts, he placed at the head of the Scottish Church affairs, the able and unscrupulous John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross. This person was formerly one of the Edinburgh ministers, and exhibiting in that position a zeal which the discerning saw to be the negotiable sort, he obtained a suitable price in the Bishopric of Ross, and in that way became the leading renegade of the period. The introduction of the obnoxious Service Book was accordingly entrusted to his management; it is even stated that its most objectionable passages came from his hand, but when Laud's well-known jealousy as chief boss of the show is considered the statement may be set down as a mistake.

The crisis arrived at last. On the 23rd July, 1637, in the Church of St Giles, the first public attempt to read the Service Book was made, and the long pent-up popular fury became uncontrollable. The immortal Jenny Geddes (the precise name is immaterial), flung her stool at the head of Dean Hanna, an act which a contemporary says was "at once followed by clappings of hands, curses, and outcries, raising such an uncouth noise and hubbub in the church that none could hear or be heard." Spalding says:—"After this Sunday wark, the hail kirk doors

in Edinburgh were lokit, and no more preaching was heard for four or five weeks. The zealous Puritans flockit ilk Sunday to hear devotion in Fife; syne returned to their houses."

Lord Rothes describes for us the reception it met with elsewhere:—
"Sundry bishops did establish the Service Book in their cathedrals, as the Bishop of Ross in the Channonrie; Brechin, at the kirk of Brechin; Dunblane, at Dunblane. . . . Also at Dingwall, in Ross, one Murdoch Mackenzie, under censure for divers heinous offences and foul crimes, practiced the same to obtain remission of his offences."—Relation of Proceedings.

What the Reverend Murdoch's offences were we know not, but this act of obedience was considered so meritorious that he was allowed to remain in possession of his cure for another year, but by the Glasgow Assembly (1638) both he and his bishop were not only deposed but excommunicated.

The national perverseness in thus rejecting the "true religion" astonished Laud, and it irritated and alarmed the king. But while he procrastinated and temporised, decisive measures were adopted by the now fully alert people. In the following February four Tables, that is Committees, were formed, representative of the Nobles, Gentry, Clergy, and Burgesses, and having fully ascertained that the infatuated king was bent upon enforcing, in the most tyrannical way, his ecclesiastical plottings, met and framed the National Covenant; that famous Deed holding all who signed it bound to restore and uphold the Church of their fathers. Influential Commissioners, to explain its provisions, were sent out, and one of these held its sittings in Inverness. Copies thereof were also sent to leading gentlemen all over Scotland, and amid much religious enthusiasm it was sworn to and signed by all classes, except where the people were under the dominion of Popish lords. It was, as we shall see, extensively signed in the Laich of Moray and in the Machair of Ross, though, as subsequent events evidenced, to the wave of popular enthusiasm rather than to clear apprehensions of the questions at issue, must the fact be ascribed that Seaforth (2nd Earl) and his chieftains, not only appended their own names, but procured many other signatures to that important document.*

^{*}With respect to the signing of the Covenant in the Northern Counties, the testimony of Spalding is as follows:—"The nobles (of the Tables) sent also the Earl of Sutherland, the Lord Lovat, the

To our great surprise the above fact is challenged by no less a specialist in Highland History than our friend, Mr William Mackay, Inverness, and to us the only explanation conceivable is that, in this department, his reading has been limited, and that he has been misled by the subsequent "wobbling" of the gentlemen referred to, they, like many others of their class, having become alarmed at their own success. We shall, as we proceed, advance proofs in support of our position, making extensive use of Mr Mackay's own invaluable "Dingwall Presbytery Records."

Strong in the National support, the famous Glasgow Assembly met, treated the remonstrances of the Royal Commissioner (Marquis Hamilton) with cheerful indifference, as the lay leaders had previously done the Royal concessions, and in a few days reduced to ashes that masterpiece of insensate tyranny which the Stewarts had for more than forty years been assiduously building. Episcopacy, as a system abhorrent to God and man, they declared abolished; some of the bishops they relegated to obscurity, but eight of the worst were not only deprived of all power, but actually excommunicated. Among these last was, as we have already mentioned, John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, a sentence voted severe by those only who worship talent even when divorced from all moral principle, and who ignore the fact that not only was he the chief engineer of the local Tulchan apparatus, but the loudest in calling for fire and sword towards its maintenance.

Meantime the misguided king had made for himself many enemies among his southern subjects by as many scandalous illegalities, so that it had become clear he had in contemplation nothing short of the subversion of the liberties of England. That policy carried with it a beggared Exchequer, and that, too, at a time when he had resolved on reducing by force of arms his Scottish subjects to canonical obedience. By means, however, of contributions in the form of trinkets and church plate from loyal ladies and devout churchmen chiefly, he got together—so far as numbers went—a formidable array, confessedly, however, of similar

Lord Reay, and Lord John, grandson of the Earl of Caithness, accompanied with the Laird of Balnagown, Mr James Baird, advocate, and Mr Andrew Cant, minister of Pitsligo, with divers others as their commissioners to the town of Inverness, on the 25th April, 1638, and convened the whole township: the whole town with the exception of Mr William Clogie, minister at Inverness, and a few others subscribing. Right through Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Cromartie, and Nairn had for the most part subscribed."

material to that which constituted Sir John Falstaff's immortal regiment. With it he marched to the Borders, and was there met by General Lesley, at the head of the Covenanter army, without doubt one of the best which Scotland ever produced. At the first brush the Royal forces took to their heels, and then the king—fully resolved to yield nothing tried last what he should have tried first, negotiations. As might have been anticipated, these yielded no other result than incurable suspicion. Thereafter he attempted another armed inroad, but the Covenanters, now guided by the counsels of the immortal Hampden, crossed the Border, scattered the Royal forces like chaff, marched to Newcastle, and there, while they awaited events, lived upon the English. Chief among these events were, of course, the assembling of the Long Parliament, the Great Rebellion—in which the Scottish army played a conspicuous part—and the execution of the Royal martyr to Episcopacy and arbitrary rule. Our excuse for going over these things here is, that unless they were present before the mind of the reader, the local history of the period would, in a great measure, be unintelligible.

The straits to which the king had thus become reduced appealed irresistibly to those in whom loyalty had become a mere superstition, and to whom a man's claim to call his soul his own was deemed an encroachment on the Royal prerogative; and they especially did so to the Popish and prelatic gentry of Banff and Aberdeenshire. From among their numerous vassals these soon collected a large force, and crossed the Spey in order to make reprisals on the Covenanters in Moray. Fully alive to their danger the men of Moray at once flew to arms, were soon thereafter joined in equal numbers by the men of Ross, with Seaforth at their head, while that nobleman was, by acclamation, placed at the head of the entire force, said to number about 4000 men. By this means the door into Moray was effectually barred, and the Gordons, finding that they were likely to get the worst of it, opened negotiations, and after some delay were allowed to recross the river unmolested.* This was

^{*}Spalding, in his "Troubles," gives a number of details omitted in the text, and a different view of Seaforth's objective, which may find a place here. He says:—"On the 27th Feb., 1639, hearing that William Gordon of Knocknaspae was coming by command of the Marquis of Huntly to furnish and provide the Castle of Inverness with men, munitions, and provisions, Thomas Fraser, younger of Strichen, James Fraser, brother to Lord Lovat, Mr Alexander Mackenzie of Kilcowie, brother to the Earl of Seaforth, and many other countrymen convened at the burgh, got between him and the Castle, and violently deprived him of all, saying that the house belonged neither to the Marquis nor

an excellent beginning, and served to place Seaforth in a high position in the popular esteem, but unhappily, and because of his essential feebleness of character, he was ill-fitted for any trying emergency, and in fact the Spey campaign was his last achievement in the cause of the national liberties. Conscience having had no part in making him a Covenanter he, when soon thereafter brought into contact with stronger spirits, in particular with the Earl of Montrose, "wobbled" shamefully, drew many of those over whom he had influence after him, and, in fact, as we shall see, became a mere minus quantity for the remainder of his days.

Chief among those whom he malignly influenced was Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat. At the beginning of the popular movement, this gentleman took, as a Covenanter, a leading part in promoting the national cause. He first came into notice by his zeal in prosecuting Thomas Mackenzie, the minister of Tarbat, who, from his position as a member of the infamous High Commission Court, must have acted as Bishop Maxwell's right hand in the Province. From the measures taken by the parishioners, with Sir John at their head, Mackenzie was not only prevented from introducing the liturgy, but was expelled from his charge. Sir John attended the Glasgow Assembly in the capacity

to the King, but was built for the defence of the country. There was no answering to an argument so supported, and Gordon was glad to get away. There was then a watch established there of 80 men, nightly furnished by the Mackenzies, Frasers, Rosses, Munros, and other country clans, while they destroyed the 'nobil houss of Huntly to his slyt, hurt, and skaith.' On Tuesday, the 9th April, the Earl of Seaforth, the Master of Lovat, the Laird of Innes, the Provost of Elgin, and other barons came out of Ross and Moray with about 300 well horsed gentlemen to salute the (Covenanting) army at Aberdeen, and to offer their service; they were made welcome and stayed until the 13th, when they got their leave and returned home. On the 24th the Earl Marischall, Seaforth, and others met at Kintore, and next day at Aberdeen, accompanied by about 3000 nien whom they quartered in the city, to the 'vexing and wiryeting of the towns people,' who were by no means zealous for the Covenant. Seaforth went home on the 24th to take command of about 4000 brave men on horse and foot, coming out of Caithness, Strathnaver, Sutherland, Ross and Moray, led by the Lord Lovat, Lord Reay, the Sheriff of Moray, the Lairds of Innes, Pluscarden, and divers other barons, captains, and commanders. The town of Elgin being astride the highway to Aberdeen, their rendezvous, was menaced by the Gordons, under the Laird of Banff, hastily convened and consisting of horse and foot, and which the men of Elgin though sore afraid resolved to oppose with arms in their hands. 'The Erll of Seafort and the rest seeing the barons boldlie ryd the Spey and cum forward in oder of battel, they go to array and resolues to meit thame and marched to within three myles to each other. In the meintime some peciable set men on both sides sathit the matter so that Moray, Ross, and Sutherland and the rest suld not come over Spey, bot returne hame to thair housses and on the other pairt, the barons of the name of Gordon, Banff, and the rest sould return over Spey and go to thair housses. This was done on the 28th May.'" (Troubles, slightly modernised.)

of ruling elder from the Presbytery of Tain, was a leading witness against the bishop, and swore to having seen him bow to the altar. (Fugling of this sort was an essential feature in the Stewart religion). Sir John and his son, George, held commissions during the Spey campaign, and he was appointed subsequently one of the Loan Commissioners for Inverness, an office which consisted in obtaining loans towards recruiting the army, then in England. Thereafter he and his son held Colonel's commissions among the men of Moray, but in 1647, both became parties to Seaforth's Remonstrance—of which more anon—and from that time forward became zealous Cavaliers. Ross of Balnagown, also, as representative of North Ross, attended and co-operated with the Commissioners of the Tables, when at Inverness, but ultimately, at a ruinous expense to himself, raised a force with which he marched to Worcester, and shared in that disaster. It has occasioned some surprise that the Chief of the Munros did not enter an appearance during the signing of the Covenant, but the explanation is easy; Sir Hector Munro who, if he had lived, would have been the 17th baron, was then a delicate boy, and died in 1641, in his seventeenth year. In that year however, he was succeeded by Colonel Sir Robert Munro of Obsdale—a man of moral backbone-and from that time until he died, the Covenanters of Ross had one at their head in every way worthy of their cause. From the facts already adduced, the reader will be able to decide whether our friend, Mr Mackay, is correct when affirming that "The Covenant met with but scant welcome in the North, and was subscribed by few within the bounds of our Presbyteries, except in the parish of Alness and Kiltearn, which were subject to the influence of Munro of Fowlis." We shall presently give a number of entries from the Dingwall Presbytery Records, by which the untenableness of the above position will be further seen, but, before doing so, Seaforth Remonstrance, and its effect on the popular movement, must be referred to.

In 1647 many of the popular leaders North and South, with whom all along the interests of religion ranked second to those of the dynasty, became alarmed at their own success, and had also good reason to fear, from the turn matters were taking, that a subversion of the Monarchy was imminent. The consequence was that, under various pretences, they in a body resiled from their Covenant engagements, and became what was termed Moderate Presbyterians. In that year Seaforth

published what he termed a Remonstrance, which, without once referring to the Covenant, characterised as unlawful the steps which had been taken to preserve the national religion and liberties, described the proceedings of Parliament as rebellious, called upon the country to invite the king to Scotland (he was then a close prisoner in England) and concluded with a form of oath which all and sundry, discontented with the existing state of affairs, ought to subscribe as they valued every institution not yet destroyed. The defection of so influential a nobleman—though long anticipated—filled the popular leaders with alarm, which became intensified on its becoming known, to use Mr Robert Douglass' words, "that he had drawn in some honest men, who, out of their simplicity and their desire of peace have gone alongst in subscribing the oath." That these alarms were well founded is clear, for if the Remonstrance was followed with success it involved not only the undoing of all that had been done, but war with England as well. Prompt steps were accordingly taken. Seaforth was proclaimed a rebel by the Parliament; a sentence which the General Assembly followed up with his excommunication for violating his Covenant oath.

After all, the effects it produced were chiefly local and temporary; it met with but little countenance in Moray, and then only from Mackenzie of Pluscardine, Seaforth's brother, but the tension of public feeling at the time will be estimated from the fact that the Earl of Sutherland, douce elder of the kirk though he was, gave the Remonstrance his countenance—for a time. As we shall see, a goodly number of the fighting men of Ross subscribed, took part in "James Graham's Rebellion, the affairs of Balyannie and Kessock," and other futile skirmishes of the period. They soon after, however, in common with Seaforth, found that they had made a mistake, as the excerpts we are about to give from the Dingwall Presbytery Records abundantly show.

A word here on that notable Church Court. It had become the rule long before 1649 that all holders of benefices must, previous to their induction, become subscribers to the Covenant. It followed that those who had become fully committed to the prelatic system, the ministers of Dingwall, Urray, Contin, and Kiltearn, for example, were deposed, and their places filled by others. Thus, that "dungeon of learning," Mr John Macrae, son of the Evangelist of the Lewis, succeeded to the Dingwall pulpit, but, judging by his subsequent conduct, he must have

subscribed with his tongue in his cheek. It is also well to remind the reader that in no sense did the Presbytery sit as a criminal, but solely as a spiritual Court, the offence in every case of which we will see them taking cognisance, being a breach of the Covenant oath. The fact we submit, will, with what has gone before, fully establish the position with which we set out, that "the Covenant was extensively subscribed in Ross."

On the 28th of Rugust, 1649, we find them taking up the case of John Bain, laird of Knockbain (parish of Dingwall), that gentleman acknowledging his error in being "accise to ye late rebellion, by going to Inverness (in connection with the Kessock and Balvennie affairs), and supplicates the Presbytery to accept his repentance. Postponed.

11th September, 1649.—That day a number of Engagers ("moderate Presbyterians") from several paroches, compeared before the Presbytery, offering themselves to trial, and declaring their willingness to give satisfaction, according to their guilt, and desiring to be received. John Mackenzie of Davochcarne (Brea), Donald, Robert and Hugh Munro, sons of Teanirich (Clare district), John Munro, Culvaskiach (Fowlis), David Munro of Katual (Katewell), John Munro of Ardullie, Alexander Bain of Knockbain, and several others confessed that they served as private soldiers in the late Rebellion. John Bain of Knockbain made a similar confession. John Mackenzie of Davochcarne also confessed that he was accessire to James Graham's Rebellion in Seaforth company, with Colin Mackenzie of Kinnock Urray), and Duncan Macalister from the same parish. Niel Munro of Findon made an equivocal confession, but John Munro of Lemlair acknowledged his error, and professed great grief and sorrow for his unlawful engagements, and was followed by Captain Andrew Munro in these professions.

On 18th September, 1649, Mr D. Macrae (minister of Urray), gave in a list of Engagers within his parish. Rorie Mackenzie of Davochmaluac, and Kenneth Mackenzie, his servant, William and Donald Maconil (Macdonald), Iames Macinrob (Robertson), Easter Fairburne; John Buie Macfinlay (Gowne-Blacksmith), Thomas Beg (Mason's son), John Maccoule, John Maconil, John Macean, Duncan Macfarquhar, John Reach Macwilliam, Kenneth Kard, Donald Macean, Greisich (broguer), Alexander Bayne of Tarradale, Thomas Roy Macconil Bhan, and Captain Bayne, Brahan. Besides these there appeared ten from

Kiltearn, fifteen from Urquhart, and several from the parish of Alness. Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, compeared from the parish of Contin, "was privy to the insurrection but was against his judgment." All these confessed their guilt. Two days later Rorie Mackenzie of Davochmaluac, Rorie Mackenzie of Fairburne, and Thomas Fraser of Crochhill (Little Kinnardy), confessed having been implicated in James Graham's Rebellion. The whole of the cases were postponed until their ministers "maks furder tryall of their respective cairaiges." The classing of the several malignants to be according to the satisfactions to be enjoined upon each. Continued until next day.

4th December.—Kenneth Mackenzie of Scatwell, Kenneth Mackenzie of Assynt (Alness), and Rorie Mackenzie of Tollie, compeared, and "to thair greit grief" confessed their accession to James Graham's Rebellion. The following is the mode by which they were to indicate their public penitence:—"Those of the gentry who have been elders, under the rank of Lieutenant, and who were promoters of, or actually engaged in any of the unlawful and malignant courses, are ordained to sit in sackcloth 'upon a furme during the tyme of Divine service befor the pulpit.' All the rest of the commoners to stand in the bodie of the kirk in their own habits as said is."

22nd January, 1650.—Several malignants from the parish of Dingwall, among them Alexander Bayne (Tulloch), appeared confessing malignancy, and were recommended to Mr John Macrae, to be received according to the act of classes. Compeared Kenneth Mackenzie of Gairloch, confessed his accession to James Graham's Rebellion, professed his grief for the same, and desired to be received into the Covenant and satisfaction. Case remitted to the session of Gairloch, according to the manner prescribed in the act of classes.

One reason, and only one, can be given for the above submission to discipline of those high spirited men; their zeal for the "monarchy," such as it was, had collapsed, and their consciences had become fully awake! They had all sworn to the Covenant, and the millstone of perjury, hanging about their necks, made cowards—in the best sense—of them all. They felt easier on the occasion of the Restoration.

Our friend, Mr Mackay, in the preface to his admirable "Dingwall Presbytery Records," expatiates with some warmth on the achievements of the Mackenzies at this period, which, to our mind, a review of the

actual facts by no means warrants. He says: - "In every movement of the time in defence of the monarchy, they had their share. fought under the banner of Montrose in his brilliant first campaign, and thus earned for themselves the title of malignants. They subscribed Seaforth's Remonstrance" (this we saw was a previous act), "they joined the Engagement of 1648, and followed the Duke of Hamilton into England. They followed Lord Reay and Mackenzie of Pluscardine in the rising of 1649, in support of Charles II., and before the defeat of Balvennie helped to capture Inverness, and demolish the town's walls." Now, what were the actual facts? We saw that in Seaforth's Regiment there were quite as many Munros as Mackenzies, and then, next, the only occasion on which they were under the orders of Montrose was at Auldearn, though professedly on the side of the Covenant, and whereas we shall see-they were so placed that it is doubtful whether they lost half a dozen men. Then, that affair over, Seaforth took his second turn at "wobbling," returned home, and ceased to be a militant Cavalier. Then, next, the Seaforth Regiment did not follow the Duke of Hamilton or anybody else into England; what their achievements on that occasion were we shall see later on. Then, lastly—as we shall also see—their behaviour in the Balvennie affair and the previous rising, when not rising to the ludicrous sinks into the contemptible. At the same time we fully allow, that when properly led, the Clan Mackenzie formed as good fighting material as there was, or is in the Highlands, but it does them no honour to assign them in a thoroughly bad cause a prominence which they did not deserve. That they openly expressed their sympathy with Montrose in his last unfortunate campaign we would like to see proved; at all events, three only of the name, Mackenzie of Ord, Mackenzie of Breckanord, and parson Murdoch Mackenzie's son, are all who appear to have got into trouble on that account.

While Hamilton was making his English inroad, Seaforth—or some one for him—led his belated Clan, or Regiment, south, joined the Earl of Lanark's force, engaged in a few futile skirmishes, and then turned homewards to "reap the harvest." Lastly, the achievements of Lord Reay and Pluscardine's force, made up of Mackays, men of the Machair, and West Coast Highlanders, more laughable than war-like, will be referred to later on. Plainly, it is rather too much to say, "that in every movement for the defence of the monarchy, the Mackenzies took their

share, albeit their capacity as fighting men, was, and is, indisputable. We close this chapter with the following extract:—

April 6th, 1650.—The brethren being informed of James Graham's landing in Caithness with forces, and coming forward for further spulzie, for carrying on their former bloody and rebellious courses, and considering the Act of the General Assembly for receiving of malignants to public satisfaction to import that all who formerly were upon the rebellious and malignant insurrections in the land and professing repentance of the same and desire to be received to satisfaction, and if any such should further promote any rebellious course against God's work and people, they should be excommunicated. They do, therefore, for preventing any association, consideration and correspondence with the said excemmunicate and bloody traitor to his forces, ordayne all the brethren to make intimation out of their respective pulpits, that any who shall associate or correspond with the said rebell or his forces shall be sentenced with excommunication summarlie, and the several brethren are appointed to perform accordingly in case any breach as aforesaid shall happen to be committed.

CHAPTER XIV.

WITH the view, among others, of proving that not only, as shown in the Presbytery Records, was the Covenant extensively sworn but also foresworn in Ross, we passed over the circumstances under which the libelled offences occurred; to these we must now return.

In our reference to Seaforth's Remonstrance, it was mentioned that long previously suspicions were entertained of his having swerved from his Covenant engagements. In point of fact, the argus-eved Committee of Estates had ascertained the purport of his numerous clandestine meetings with Montrose; had even intercepted portions of their correspondence and, in consequence, imprisoned the latter nobleman in Edinburgh Castle. They, on various accounts, however, found it difficult to proceed to like extremities with Seaforth; besides, he was far and away the least dangerous of the two. Subsequently, under the belief that under the altered circumstances no great harm would occur, Montrose was set at liberty, but in this, as they soon had occasion to know, the authorities found they had made a capital mistake, and which they had ample opportunities to regret. The Marquis soon after found himself at the head of a force, partly Irish and partly Atholemen, and with it, in a surprising manner, he defeated the newly-levied Covenanters at Tippermuir, at Aberdeen, and at Inverlochy, and next resolved, with the assistance of the Gordons and Macdonalds, who had joined his standard, to extend his operations into Moray. His movements elsewhere had necessitated the assembling in that Province of a considerable force, composed of its own inhabitants, "Seaforth's Company" (still nominally Covenanters), and the Earl of Sutherland's people. supreme command was held by a soldier of fortune-General John Hurry-and from the sequel as well as other facts no doubt whatsoever exists that both he and Seaforth had previously come to an understanding

with the Marquis to betray both the cause they professed and the confederates with which they co-operated.

In pursuance of this understanding they, at the Council of War held in Inverness shortly before the fatal battle of Auldearn, insiduously introduced, as that promising the best results, a plan of operations furnished them by Montrose, and by which the slaughter of the loyal Covenanters became inevitable, while the safety of the disloyal—"Seaforth's Company "-would be secured, thus enabling them, the fight over, to join his own army intact. The treachery was successful, but though its "noble" contriver had done nothing further against his bleeding country, that alone would fully merit the rope by which his "meteor career" was so fitly terminated. As might have been anticipated, many honest men, and even a few of Seaforth's regiment, perished at the battle of Auldearn (4th May, 1645), and at its conclusion Hurry and Seaforth, with his men, and according to programme, went over to the enemy. This equivocal performance, however, was the beginning and termination of Seaforth's fighting "under the banner of Montrose in his first brilliant campaign"; and it is submitted-apart from the principle involved—scarcely worth the ado over being "accise to James Graham's Rebellion" made by the venerable Dingwall Presbytery!

Many of Montrose's men—their usual course after a battle—dispersed, and at this juncture, with few men about him, he became alarmed by the sudden appearance of a large body of hostile cavalry, whereby he and Seaforth narrowly escaped capture. They accordingly separated. The latter returned to Ross to dubitate, but the Marquis, having again colleced his forces, marched through Moray, ravaging and plundering and burning as he went the houses of Brodie, Culbin, Innis and Redhall, into Aberdeenshire, and two months later was again victorious at Alford; Kilsyth followed, but in September, at Philliphaugh, this "hero of tools" had his army completely destroyed.

This is how a contemporary and fellow-loyalist, Bishop Burnet, estimated these achievements:—"The Marquis of Montrose's success was very mischievous, and proved the ruin of the king's affairs." Strange to say this wholesale traitor and homicide is still termed the "Great Montrose."

There is no record available of the performances of our Provincial magnate and his "company" during the next two years, but in 1648,

amid the existing welter, that party which acknowledged the leadership of the Duke of Hamilton and termed the Moderate Presbyterians, virtually, however, that of the king, had attained, at least in the West of Scotland to a species of ascendancy. Becoming alarmed—as they well might-at the turn Charles's affairs were taking in England, they resolved upon an armed demonstration from Scotland. Seaforth was consulted, gave it his concurrence, and promised to join it with an effective contingent, but, true to his character, forgot that concert formed an all-important element in all military operations. Meantime a tumultuary army was assembled, found a corresponding general in the Duke of Hamilton, and marched as far as Warrington into England, where it was encountered and defeated by the English militia. Its march into England had actually begun ere "Seaforth's Company," probably commanded by Pluscardine, set out, got as far as the southern counties, where it did a little skirmishing under the Earl of Lanark, and then turned homewards "to reap the corn." This, then, constituted that "accise" for which, as we have seen, so many of the "Company" were called to account by the venerable, the Presbytery of Dingwall.

By far and away the most active royalist at this period in the North was Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine. In fact, though living in Moray, he was virtually commander of all Seaforth's followers. Soon after the "accise" fiasco had terminated he took a leading part in a similar rising. Influenced, or pretending to be influenced by a Royalist canard to the effect that the Committee of Estates had resolved to put to death all those who at any time had taken up arms for the king, he persuaded Colonel John Munro of Lemlair, Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, and Colonel Hugh Fraser, to anticipate the above mentioned slaughter by a similar performance. At the head of their respective followers, accordingly, they took the field, inflicted some damage on such fortifications as existed in Inverness, thence proceeded up the Spey with the view of joining the men of Athole, but somewhere in the vicinity of Ruthven were met by a cavalry force under General Lesley and defeated.

Previous to marching against the Athole men, Lesley opened communications with the gentlemen named, and succeeded in convincing Munro, Urquhart and Fraser of the folly of their conduct, but Pluscardine continued obdurate, held instead council with the Royalists of Banff for another and more formidable rising. His next move was to secure the

support of his nephew, Lord Reay, persuading that chief to form a junction at the head of 300 of his people with "Seaforth's Company," and about the end of April, 1649, he began operations by storming the Castle of Fortrose, then held by a garrison of Lesley's troops. He next, at the head of about 1500 men, took possession of Inverness; but as we have a narrative of what then and subsequently took place from the pen of an eye-witness, the then minister of Kirkhill-or Wardlaw, as the parish was then termed—and published in "Carruther's Note-Book," we shall allow that gentleman to state the facts: - "Lord Reay and the Mackenzies mustered and made a body of 1500, and coming over, some at Kessock and some at Beauly, crossed the bridge of the Ness on the Lord's Day, in time of Divine service, and alarmed the people of Inverness attending God's worship in that town. For, instead of bells to ring into service, I saw and heard no other than the noise of pipes. drums, pots, pans, kettles and spits in the streets, to provide them victuals in every house. And in their quarters the rude rascality would eat no meat until the landlord laid on the table their 'argiod cagain,' or chewing money, which every soldier got, so insolent were they. rapacious body marched off on the Monday morning, and after they had crossed the Spey they were surprised" (at Balvennie) "by Colonels Strachan and Kerr, commanding two troops of horse, by whom they were vanquished almost without resistance, notwithstanding their numbers. No less than 400 were killed upon the spot, and about 1000 were disarmed and made prisoners. Next day, twenty horse and three companies of foot were ordered to convey the captives back to Invernessshire, where I saw them pass through. Thence they were conducted over the bridge of the Ness, and dismissed, every man armless and harmless, to his own house. This is a matter of fact, which I saw and heard."

The fact was that the common men were dismissed on giving their oaths that in all coming time they would not take up arms against the Parliament, which, it appears, they religiously kept. With respect to the leaders, Lord Reay, Mackenzie of Redcastle, and several of their kinsmen and friends, were sent to Edinburgh and imprisoned. Huntly Ogilvie, Pluscardine, and Middleton, on finding security to keep the peace, were forgiven and allowed to go home. Thus ended "The Kessock and Balvennie affair."

The fact that the followers of the Earl of Seaforth were, during the Balvennie affair, so amenable to the order of Pluscardine, Redcastle, and the other chieftains, is easily accounted for; that nobleman at that period was a Cavalier for the third time, and a member of the potent Government of Charles II. at The Hague. Readers will remember the "Remonstrance" and what came of it; misprison of treason and excommunication, sentences which would give Montrose but trifling concern, but which filled our local potentate with alarm.

In 1648 Seaforth had not only become the victim of an accusing conscience, but had also every fear of soon becoming the victim of the Scottish Parliament. Under the stress of the twin peril he, through his numerous friends, craved pardon for his delinquencies, accompanying it with many promises of future good conduct. These the Parliament did not find themselves in a position to neglect, and after a little decent delay their sentence was fully cancelled. But the Assembly was not to be so easily mollified. sentence of excommunication was not a thing to be set aside by a few strokes of the pen, and that potent body insisted that a public recantation was indispensable, and Seaforth had to submit to its fiat. He accordingly, in St Giles Church, appeared in a white sheet, had his transgressions related in detail by the officiating minister, and duly bowed his repentance for the same. This was considered sufficient, and the Church scandal under which he laboured was declared removed. his contrition was more scenic than real is, however, evidenced by the fact, that when on the 19th of January, of the following year, the English Parliament saw fit to deprive the king of his head, Seaforth made his way to The Hague, where by the king de jure he was received with open arms. While there he promised the co-operation of his Clan during the contemplated expedition of the Marquis of Montrose—which was treated, as we shall see, with neglect-and there, shortly after the battle of Worcester, he died.

The death of Charles I. is said to have sent a thrill of horror through Europe; singular to say it does not seem to have been felt in Ross, otherwise the fact would have been recorded in the Dingwall Presbytery Records, which it certainly is not. It is, however, matter for history that notwithstanding his misdeeds, his execution shocked, and was resented by the various parties which then divided Scotland. His son was at

once recognised as his successor, and the Estates, entirely ignorant of his hopelessly debased character, were in the act of treating for his coronation on Covenant principles, when he was signing a commission to Montrose to again rend the bowels of unhappy Scotland. We are not, at present, called upon to deal with the advent of the new monarch; that of Montrose and the catastrophe in Ross lying more in the way.

Early in March, 1650, that partizan of royal misrule embarked at Hamburg, furnished by some of the friendly German Courts with a supply of arms and treasure, a force of about 600 mercenaries, and a few Royalist refugees, among whom were General Hurry, Lord Frendraught, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetty, Colonel Hay of Naughten, most of his surviving former officers, and two ministers. He first touched at the Orkneys, where he forced a number of people into his ranks, and next disembarked upon the coast of Sutherland. Finding himself in what he considered an enemy's country, he, after his usual manner, proceeded to make free with such property as fell in his way, and to the Earl of Sutherland, who complained of these proceedings, he replied, that though he had spared his lordship's own lands for the present, vengeance was merely delayed. Little did the truculent marauder anticipate that his long march through rapine and bloodshed was just about to terminate in defeat and blood!

About the middle of April he crossed the Oykel into Carbisdale, in Ross, the rendezvous where Seaforth had arranged he was to be reinforced by the Mackenzies, but the Presbytery of Dingwall had, as we saw, the last word on that arrangement, and the Caberfeighs came not!

Aware that Montrose was soon due in the Highlands, General Lesley dispatched thither Colonel Strachan, an able and enterprising officer, at the head of five troops of horse, with the two-fold object of keeping Montrose in check, and of furnishing a centre around which such levies, as the Presbyterian leaders in the district threatened, might be able to collect. These were the Earl of Sutherland, at the head of 500 of his own people, subsequently posted so as to intercept Montrose's retreat into Sutherland; David Ross of Balnagown, and Colonel Munro of Lemlair, at the head of their respective clans. The whole of these troops had assembled in Tain, just as the Marquis, in total ignorance

of their existence, was crossing the Oykel, some twenty-five miles away. The utter absence of all precautions on the part of Montrose enabled Strachan to advance unobserved to within a couple of miles of the hostile camp, when he so manœuvred a small detachment as to convey to Graham the impression that he had before him but a small scouting party out to obtain intelligence. Meanwhile, Strachan, taking advantage of the abundant cover, divided his people into three parties, which by charging simultaneously both flanks and rear of the camp were to convey the impression that they had at their backs an overwhelming force. Good tactics was never carried out with greater success. The Marquis was completely deceived in both cases, and ordered a retreat, but in the middle of the movement the dragoons charged furiously, and instantly the retreat became a panic. The foreign mercenaries contrived to fire one ineffectual volley and then fled for shelter to a wood, where they were met by the Munros and the Rosses, and leisurely slaughtered. The Orkney men, however, at the first onset threw down their arms and cried for quarter.

The butchery—for it must have been nothing else—continued for about two hours, during which time ten of Montrose's best officers and 386 of the common soldiers were slain. Upwards of 400 prisoners were taken, including 31 officers, among whom were General Hurry and Lord Frendraught—that young gentleman being severely wounded. The victory was achieved—if we are to believe the annalists—which we certainly do not—with the loss of one trooper drowned and two men wounded. It is stated by one of the ministers—Wishart, latterly Bishop of Edinburgh—that for several days after the battle, the people of Ross and Sutherland employed themselves in killing the wounded and stragglers, a statement to which we accord the same unreliability as the former.

Montrose, having his horse shot under him, and realising that the game had gone utterly wrong, mounted Lord Frendraught's horse, and galloped off the field. No sooner out of sight of the enemy than he abandoned the horse, threw away his star decorated cloak and sword, and sought concealment on foot. He was accompanied by the Earl of Kinnoul, and six or seven companions; and, in some unexplained way, exchanged his clothes for the dress of a peasant, and wandered about for the two following days without food and in the utmost distress of

mind. The Earl of Kinnoul succumbed to the hardship, and was never more heard of, but when at the point of dying from starvation, the Marquis obtained, in a cottage, a supply of bread and milk, which afforded a temporary relief.

His previous record had made him many enemies in that district, and several parties were out for his capture, which he managed to evade; but, at last, his panegyrist, Bishop Wishart, says—" The laird of Assynt being abroad in arms with some of his tenants in search of him lighted upon him in a place where he had continued three or four days without meat or drink, and only one man in his company." The several writers who treat of this incident say that Montrose offered a large sum for his liberty, which, however, his captor, Macleod, steadily refused. They would also have us believe that that chief had been bribed beforehand by a cargo of sour meal, a story which, when the element of time is taken into account becomes simply ridiculous. Indeed, there is ample reason to believe that it originated with Ian Lom, a West Highland bard and satirist of repute, who drew upon his imagination with the view of making the captor and his superiors ridiculous.

Macleod took the Marquis and his companion, Major Sinclair, first to his Castle at Ardyraik, and thence by order of General Lesley to that of Skibo. From there he was taken to Brahan Castle, and thence to Edinburgh. There, as is well known, he met his doom in a manner which has kept a certain section of the population in hysterical admiration ever since, and it may be added—though it will certainly read like an anti-climax-fully implemented a prognostication based upon his theatrical character, made twelve years previously by the facetious Earl of Rothes. Montrose, while still a Covenanter, standing one day on a scaffold at the Cross of Edinburgh, where a protest against a Royal proclamation was being read, mounted a puncheon which stood there, in order, perhaps, that he might better hear the speaker. The peculiar conspicuousness carelessly assumed in an act which might soon be pronounced treasonable, and on the spot where traitors usually expiated their offences, caused his brother Earl to say to him: -- "James, you will never rest till you are lifted up above the rest in a rope!"

Montrose's military character has been variously estimated. Here is Bishop Brunet's description of his army and the forces that that army

met and defeated: -- "When the Marquis of Montrose heard that they (the Irish) were in Argyllshire, he went to them and told them that if they would let him lead them he would carry them into the heart of the kingdom, and procure them better quarters and good pay: so he led them into Perthshire. The Scots had at that time an army in England and another in Ireland; yet did not think it necessary to call home any part of either, but despising the Irish and the Highlanders, they raised a tumultuary army, and put it under the command of some Lords noted for want of courage, and of others who wished well to the other side. The Marquis of Montrose's men were desperate and met with but little resistance; so that small body of the Covenanters' army was routed. And here the Marquis of Montrose got horses and ammunition, having but three horses before, and powder but for one charge." Seventy years ago, however, Montrose was considered a peerless paladin, an estimate which may be read at length in Scott; while later on, Aytoun's Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers focussed that of a fast diminishing class. At the present day Montrose is, we believe, estimated at about his true value. His dash and enterprise is by no means forgotten, but it is also remembered that on two of the most important episodes of his career he failed to take those precautions which no fourth-rate general is ever guilty of, and that in consequence, sacrificed not only the worthless cause he had adopted, but his followers and himself.

The victory of Carbisdale occasioned much jubilation to the Presbytery of Dingwall.

On the 28th of May, 1650, we find the members of Presbytery severally reporting that the day of thanksgiving for the victory at Carbisdale, over James Graham and other enemies to the cause of the people of God, was duly kept. On the same occasion Hector Mackenzie of Assynt (Alness) "did supplicate the Presbytery to receive him to repentance for accompanying the laird of Pluscardine to Balvennie." The Presbytery (evidently in a relenting mood), "considering that the said Hector was young and not accessory to any other rebellious course ordain him to take repentance by rising out of his desk in the kirk of Fodderty (mark, two parishes away from his own kirk, so as to let him down softly!) and make public acknowledgment of his guilt, Mr Farquhar Maclennan to receive him and cause him to subscribe the declaration of the General Assembly for abjuring the said insurrection."

Clearly, whether the Covenant was "scantily signed" or not, it still existed as a might force in Ross!

In June 18th and July 2nd, 1650, we read that a number of processed people satisfied the Presbytery for their malignancy, and were absolved accordingly. At their meeting on the 6th July, the brethren affect to see great danger to "ye land and work of reformation in the approach of the Sectarian (Parliamentary) forces." (Be not alarmed, Oh! beloved brethren; the head of that force while having as great an interest as you can have in the Reformation, has a far clearer insight into its dangers than your near vision is capable of!) On the 19th of November the Mackenzies of Ord and Breakanord respectively, "did compear as they did at several diets before, supplicating to the recavid to their public repentance, for their accession to the several rebellions." They are ordered to appear in the kirk of Dingwall next Sabbath in their own habit, and subscribe the declaration.

It is probable that the people of Ross were too much occupied with their own affairs to give much heed to what had befallen Montrose. During the spring and summer of 1650 a good deal of villanous saltpetre was burnt there irrespective of the affair of Carbisdale. General Carr was sent at the head of a strong detachment to pull matters straight in the Black Isle. He first besieged, captured and hanged the garrison of Redcastle, retook that of Channonry, and in order to prevent its giving any further trouble, razed it to the ground. General Lesley, in person, took and placed a garrison in Brahan Castle, then a much more formidable stronghold than now, on account of its battlemented wall of circumvallation, and while there he received his fallen opponent, Montrose, then on his way to Edinburgh.

At the period of Montrose's last campaign Seaforth lived in Holland, and the occasion of that exile as an item of Provincial history calls for brief mention.

It lies altogether out of our way to describe the Coronation of Charles II. (June, 1650), Cromwell's invasion of Scotland and the battle of Dunbar (3rd September, 1650), or the various factions, Malignants, Engagers, Resolutioners, and Protestors, into which the bewildered population were divided; and we would have passed over the battle of Worcester itself were it not that certain—it is impossible to say how many—natives of Ross perished there.

Hemmed in both to the north-east and south-east by the Cromwellian forces, Charles II. adopted the desperate enterprise of marching his gallant but ill-conducted army of Engagers into England, in the hope, that the presence there of their king would induce the numerous loyalists to rally around his standard. This opportunity of distinguishing himself under the eye of his sovereign proved too much for that electroplate copy of Montrose, Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine, under caution to observe an opposite course though he was. The Mackenzies of Ross, having had enough of him already, sat still, otherwise we would have heard of it in the Dingwall Presbytery Records; but he seems to have persuaded two hundred or more of the broken men of Moray, with his nephew, Kenneth, Master of Seaforth, to associate themselves with him in the contemplated enterprise. Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty also agreed, though under a similar ban, to swell his force at the head of those of his tenantry, who feared to incur his resentment. But his most singular confederate was David Ross of Balnagown, the same who in the battle of Carbisdale, at the head of his people, helped to destroy Montrose's force. That success seems to have turned his head, and the hope of winning further military glory served to transform the douce Covenanter into a fighting Cavalier. He entered into Pluscardine's project with zeal; at an expense which hopelessly involved his estate he fitted out several hundreds of his tenantry; ferried himself and them across into Moray, and thus completed the strong battalion which formed the northern contingent of the Royal army. We shall not attempt a description of the disastrous battle of Worcester (September, 1651), which in due time followed, and which any good history will supply. will here suffice to say, that after what Cromwell characterised as a "stiff business-a very glorious mercy-as stiff a contest as he ever beheld," the Scottish army was defeated, a large portion slain, while 10,000 of the rank and file were shipped to the Plantations as slaves. Among the prisoners taken were Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty and David Ross of Balnagown; the former—"his seven pockmantles" filled with invaluable treatises hopelessly lost—was sent to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner till the eve of the Restoration, when he died; the latter was sent to Windsor, and remained there until his death in 1657. In all probability it was the involved condition of the estate which saved it from the confiscation which overtook those of the other Royalist leaders.

The commander of this unfortunate battalion, Mackenzie of Pluscardine, together with the Master of Seaforth, managed to escape to Scotland. The latter soon after succeeded to the title (the estates were forfeited some time before), and after remaining at large for several years, during which, in 1653, he joined Glencairn's rabble army, and next year declared for the king, fell, in 1654, into Cromwell's hands, was also sent to the Tower, where he remained until the Restoration.

As a result of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, and until the termination of the Protectorate, Scotland, to its manifest advantage, fell under the control of the English Parliament, and in consequence, the law was upheld, and justice as between man and man was administered as it never was before, and even until a comparatively recent epoch, ever since. While full liberty of worship and discipline was granted, with the single exception of the Romanists, to all denominations alike, few Provincial Synods, and no General Assemblies, were permitted to meet. It was felt that while the clergy as units were manageable they, when associated together as public bodies, in a stormy time, were capable of giving the existing authorities a good deal of trouble, even when co-operating with them in matters pertaining to the Kingdom of God. With this abbreviation in the matter of self-government the Scottish Church—never more efficient—contrived to exist during the reign of Cromwell; and although the ascendancy of a "Sectary" frequently occasioned more or less articulate growls from its leaders that magnanimous Prince, more than a match for them with their own weapons, treated as idle wind.

For ten years, between 1650 and 1660, the Records of the Dingwall Presbytery, as we have already indicated, are simply invaluable; not altogether for what they directly state as what they suggest, and in that way fill in historical details, which, if not of a national are eminently of a provincial character.

It has been stated that in consequence of Seaforth's final adoption of Cavalier principles, his estates were confiscated to the use of the State, the rents, we now add, being spent in maintaining the troops in occupation (about 1500 under Monk), and in the erection of the Citadel of Inverness. Death soon freed that unfortunate nobleman from pecuniary embarrassments, but not those of his kinsmen who had become responsible for his debts, as we are distinctly shown in the Presbytery

Records On the 19th February, 1650, we find Kenneth Mackenzie of Gairloch, and Kenneth Mackenzie of Assynt, supplicating the Presbytery under the following circumstances. It appears that their guilt in connection with the rebellious Montrose, being considered of an aggravated character, and, therefore, coming under the jurisdiction of the Commission of the Assembly, these gentlemen had been ordered to report themselves to that Court, but before setting out they had been served with a caption and horning for certain debts of the late Seaforth, for which they had become responsible; thus if they proceeded to Edinburgh as good churchmen for the one purpose, they ran the risk of instant incarceration at the instance of Seaforth's creditors for the other. They accordingly petitioned that the process against them be suspended until the breath of the Commission is heard on the matter. The Presbytery appoint that day six weeks as that on which they (the Mackenzies) are to report their diligence, and bring to the Presbytery a satisfactory answer from the Commission, with certification that if they fail, they be thereafter prosecuted. The brethren (special Committee seemingly) report that they have not received all the malignants, but are ordained to do so, and bring "the rolls to them."

In March, the next year, the brethren having inquired after the carriage of John Mackenzie of Ord, and Kenneth Mackenzie of Breakanord (Maryboro), and finding them to be not only accessory as captains of companies at Balvennie, but implicated in some way in the affair of Carbisdale, resolve on referring them to the Commission of the General Assembly, a journey of two hundred and twenty miles, over indescribable roads! Evidently, loyalty was a precious commodity in those days, it cost dear!

Want of space compels us to crush out—as the newspapers say—a report of the interesting Dingwall Glebe Case, so aptly illustrative of the methods by which the House of Kintail contrived to add field to field until they filled the land; here, however, they met defeat at the hands of the burgh parson, the redoubtable, if litigious, Macrae.

It goes without saying that the rank and file of these numerous septs on the West Coast and the glens—Maclennans, Macleays, Macraes, Murchisons, etc., etc., which together formed the bulk of the Clan Mackenzie, were never held by anybody to be free agents in the clan or national quarrels; like "good sogers" they simply did as they were

bid, and the fact is clearly recognised in the Presbytery Records, no reference whatever being made to them. But, as we have seen, it was otherwise with the Tosachs, or gentlemen. They shared with more or less intelligence the public views of their Chief; while those most eminent in position and nearest in blood formed his cabinet council, helped to carry out its decrees, and in his company, as we saw, ranked alternately as Covenanters and Cavaliers. Independently of him, however, the main stream of their thoughts and feelings ran in the groove of the loyalty then prevalent, that is, in their straths and glens they were themselves absolute rulers, and that they demanded from dependants, irrespective of their political leanings, and absolute obedience.

Swept off their feet by the prevailing enthusiasm, and incapable of appreciating its moral principle, they, with Seaforth at their head, swore to the Covenant, but the incongruity of the situation soon became apparent. The appeal of a king, restrained from making playthings of all that his best subjects thought holy, had irresistible power over them, their lives and fortunes were at once placed at his disposal, and though, as we saw, they severally under the lash of conscience, afterwards made their peace with the Presbytery, they continued Cavaliers all the same, transmitting their political prejudices with their estates to their descendants. It may also be taken for granted that they never forgave the Presbytery, or the Church it represented, for the humiliation involved in making public repentance for their share in Montrose's wars, ultimately giving effect thereto by an adherence to Stewart Episcopacy, mongrel and evil though it was, simply because it formed the antipodes of the other. It does not appear that religion, other than as forming one of the decencies of society was understood by any of them, with the single exception of the laird of Kilcoy.

CHAPTER XV.

THE confusion to the north of the Old Frontier Line induced by Seaforth's Remonstrance having, through the labours of Sir Robert Munro and the Presbytery, calmed down, the Clan of which he was the head, from hence forward, held as true to the principles formulated in the Covenant as did the Hill-men of the South-West counties. ancient House of Fowlis exerted there an influence corresponding to that of Kintail to the south, but when we compare its nature as a factor in human well-being with that all along manifested by the latter, the figure of a lighthouse as contrasted with a heap of ignited shavings, at once rises before us. Its Chief-Sir Robert-from 1641 to 1663, was a distinguished specimen of this famous line, though as a sufferer for the cause of truth he was overshadowed by his son, Sir John, XIX. Baron. Sir Robert had not only an intelligent sense of the great question then at issue, but possessed that personal piety which gave solidity to all his political convictions. His influence, therefore, over North Ross was proportionably great; weaker men holding similar views having in him a fixed point not liable to drift with the waves of passing opinion, and on which to steer. He was largely instrumental in securing Mr Hogg for the Kiltearn pulpit (1654), a choice of minister which indicated a relish for truths which went to prick the conscience, rather than frowsy platitudes fitted to deepen its sleep. Though fully alive to the danger arising from Montrose's last inroad, he does not appear to have been personally present at Carbisdale, no doubt thinking that the command of his people would be better placed in the more experienced hands of Colonel Munro of Lemlair. So thoroughly at one with the policy of the Government had this important district become that, with the exception of a small Cromwellian detatchment garrisoning the Tower of Davochmaluac, it is doubtful whether any of that force ever mounted guard elsewhere north of the Peffery.

That the presence in the Highlands of the Parliamentary Army, which duly followed the disaster of Dunbar, was an unmixed blessing to its humbler people no one, unless blinded by prejudice, has ever doubted. But while the masses—as the term is hitherto regarded as the mere dust of the balance, were protected, encouraged, and even employed, as never before, the great families were reduced to indigence. Baillie describes for us their condition in these lugubrious terms: - "The country lies exceedingly quiet, but is exceedingly poor. Trade is naught; the English has all our moneys; our noble families are almost gone" (Seaforth, Redcastle, the Urquharts of Cromarty, and perhaps Ord were the victims in Ross), "many of our chief families are cracking; nor is there any appearance of any human relief for the time. What is to become of the king and his family we do not know." Of this same time Dr Chalmers writes: - "There was such protection for life and property as was never before known. It is not without cause, we believe, that the famous Colonel Desborough in a speech in the House of Commons (March 17th, 1659), made it the boast of his party that a man might ride over Scotland with a switch in his hand and a hundred pounds in his pocket, which he could not have done with safety during the previous five hundred years." Obviously, if the value of a Government is to be estimated by results, and when one thinks of it, no more satisfactory test is conceivable, the enthusiasm evoked by the Stewarts ought to be accepted as evidence that the national common sense was then but in the rudimentary stage! Even as an element in its social life, the presence in the Highlands of the Cromwellian garrison was an unmixed blessing. "It were vain," wrote Sir James Fraser, a member of the Presbytery of Inverness, "to relate what advantages the country had by the Inverness garrison." Nevertheless, the presence of the English in Brahan and Castle Leod was not appreciated by the Presbytery of Dingwall.

On the 16th December, 1651, the Presbytery met at Logie Wester (Conon side) privately "in regard to the enimie." (Let us at least have the Conon between us and them!) "Fifteen days later the brethren were unable to meet at Urray as arranged, in respect of ane conventione of the Englishes at that place on the same day." At the meeting of 16th March, 1654, Mr Donald Macrae, minister of Urray, "was excused for his last day's absence, being impeded and molested by the Inglishe

garrisone." And, lastly, in the following December, "the brethren had not the usual exercise, in respect the exerciser was abstracted be quartering on." The difficulties incident to the administration of martial law, were not, it would appear, allowed for by the local Presbytery.

If peace then existed for the first time for centuries in Ross, so also with equal truth might it be said that Highland estates were, for the first time, managed upon business principles. The Protector held the Island of Barra in his grasp as firmly as he did the Isle of Ely, and the estates of Seaforth and Macniel, similarly to those of the Cavendishes, were made to contribute to the maintenance of his most efficient police. Such was the discipline of the local force that but one case of marauding has been recorded against it. It appears that an old man in Lochalsh lost his life at the hand of two Monk's black sheep; an offence which would most certainly have been wiped out in blood if the Gaelic tongues of the people allowed of their reporting the circumstance to that grim commander.

Our next extract from the Presbytery Records has, as will be seen, given rise to a good deal of controversy of an antiquated character.

Under date 5th September, 1656, the Presbytery met at Applecross with the view of rectifying a serious religious misdemeanour. They had ascertained that many of the inhabitants of the surrounding district had been in the habit of practicing certain idolatries, and so late as the previous August had, on an island in Loch Maree, offered up a bull as sacrifice to "Mourie," whoever that personage may turn out to be. The object aimed at by these sacrifices may, we think, be ascertained by referring to a subsequent entry in these Records (1678), in which it is stated that a sacrifice of this nature, and in the same locality, was offered for "recovery of Christine Mackenzie, spouse of Hector Mackenzie of Mellon of Gairloch, by her husband, sons, and grandson." No mention is made of the litany used, or whether fire was employed on these occasions, but the flesh of the animal was assigned medicinally "to Mountie's afflicted ones," viz., fatuous persons, on occount, presumably, of its supposed magical properties. The Presbytery had also ascertained that in the parishes of Applecross, Lochcarron, Lochalsh, Kintail, Contin, Fodderty, Gairloch and Lochbroom the ignorant population were in the habit—among other idolatrous practices—of sacrificing bulls

on "Mourie's" appropriate feast day (25th August), and of distributing the flesh as aforesaid.

It is doubtful whether the visit paid to the locality by the Presbytery in 1656 was attended with any favourable results. The practice in question was, as we saw, long after in force, as indeed were many others, until the Gospel became a power in the land. Among those last was the practice of persons, before setting out on a journey, of placing their heads—in order to success—in such cup-like hollows as may be found in existing dateless monoliths (examples of which may be seen in the vicinity of Fodderty Parish Church and in the Coul burying-ground), visiting wells "and utheris superstitious monuments and stones tedious to rehearse."

The question here arises, Who, or what, was this "Mourie?" The frequent prefix of St. we shall ignore for the obvious reason, that in the darkest days of Popery, the shedding of animal blood to the honour, or in the worship of any of its saints, has never been authorised or countenanced. By looking the matter in the face, the conclusion, we think, at which nine out of every ten thoughtful persons would arrive is, that here we have distinct traces of a deified Celtic Esculapius, fallen somewhat into discredit; a bull, rather than a cock, forming his appropriate offering. Still, the tenth man, possibly the wisest among them, might be beset with doubts. In this connection our friend, Mr W. Mackay, Inverness, quotes as follows from the late Dr Kennedy, Dingwall:-"Whether this 'Mourie' was a heathen deity, a Popish saint, or one of St Columba's missionaries, it may be impossible to determine." Mr Mackay then goes on to say, "that much light has been thrown upon such matters within the last forty years, and what has baffled the Doctor is now easy of determination. Mourie, or Maelrubba as his name was originally written, was that distinguished saint who crossed from Ireland to Scotland in 671, founded the Church of Appurcrossan-now Applecross." We, on our part, feel sure that Dr Kennedy's information regarding Maelrubba, fortified as it was by the up-to-date researches of Dr Maclauchlan, was abreast with that of any man now living, and we have seen his historic doubts. Then, how does Mr Mackay know that Mourie was originally written Maelrubba? These names, no doubt, begin with the same capital letter, but so also does Macedonand Monmouth. That "after his-Maelrubba's-death, Applecross, which is still known as A'Chomarich—the Sanctuary—became sacred ground," is beside the question, nor is it proved that "around the name of the Saint himself customs clustered which strongly savour of Paganism, and which, no doubt, had before his time, some connection with the heathen religion of the country. These survived for centuries." In the last sentence, it appears to us, we have the crux of the whole matter. The worship of Mourie being more congenial to corrupt human nature it survived that spiritual worship the setting up of which was Maelrubba's supreme object, and a ritual, forbidden by Popish and Protestant Churches alike testified to the fact.

The Presbytery of Dingwall itself, from October, 1657, on to the Blessed Restoration, was far from being a happy family. During the previous year Mr John Mackilligen was settled in Fodderty, by which means Mr Hogg had a coadjutor in all points likeminded. It would also appear that these two were usually supported by a majority of the brethren, but as there were no roads to speak of, and the "enemie," as the Parliamentary garrison were termed, furnishing a standing excuse, absences at roll call were not uncommon, and on these occasions the redoubtable Macra, minister of Dingwall, had matters all his own way. As a cast of his hand we have the following entry, dated October, 1657. "Mr Mackilligen was ordained to endeavour to pray in the Irishe (Gaelic) language, and ordered besides to own a portion of Strathconon as part of his parish "-which, it would appear, he had previously declined to do, his Morayshire tongue finding it hard work to overtake what Gaelic speech was required in Fodderty itself. Macra was, however, paid off with interest during January, February and March of the next year. They (the Records) record Macra's "needless strife, his great miscarrige deserving sharp censure; his litigiousness, needless contention, and untractableness; his stubborness and wilfulness, his wearying tediousness; his misapplication of Scripture, and his pertinacity and loquacity." Matters, indeed, had come to such a pass that some of the brethren were forced to declare, "yt that part of their ministry was bitterness to them, and wished a destruction of the Presbytery, and to be annexed to other Presbyteries." The Presbytery was not destroyed, but, probably, as the result of these contentions, there was no meeting between April, 1658, and May, 1663, when the first under the Episcopacy established by Charles II. was held. The deposition of Hogg and Mackilligan

followed, and Mr John Macra, who, of course, conformed, had the satisfaction of seeing the objectionable minutes deleted, and the expressions, 'shameless lying,' and 'the spirit of lying and malice," written on their margins."—Rec. Pre. D.)

On the 3rd September, 1658, worn out by excessive toils and the perverse opposition of a people, between whom and a Government after the model of that of Louis XIV. in combination with that of the strumpets, he formed the sole bulwark, Oliver Cromwell, Protector, "the greatest Prince England ever saw," died, and by that demise this great land, shortly before the arbitrator of Europe, lapsed into the condition of a third-rate Power, and sank deeper and fouler as a nation than ever before or since—the "Auld Stewarts" having come back again with a vengeance.

An eminent modern historian writes: -- "If we had to choose a lot from among all the multitudes of those which men have drawn since the beginning of the world, we would select that of Charles II. on the day of his return. He was in a situation in which the dictates of ambition coincided with those of benevolence, in which it was easier to be virtuous than to be wicked, to be loved than to be hated, to earn pure and imperishable glory than to become infamous." But the event was speedly followed by "those days never to be recalled without a blush, the days of servitude without loyalty and sensuality without love, of dwarfish talents and gigantic vices, the paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds, the golden age of the coward, the bigot, and the slave." These days, we may add, of shameless men and more shameless women, of a parsonhood selected to keep both in countenance, and clothed with power mercilessly exercised in crushing every one likely to brand their conduct with contempt. It was in these precise circumstances that the Episcopal Church was, for the second time, set up in Scotland.

In a previous chapter we have endeavoured to indicate the genesis of Scottish Episcopacy, and the specific ends it was meant to serve. That it broke in, and pierced the hand of him, the buttress of whose government it was designed to be, has already been pointed out. But as the professed spouse of Christ, how, or in what manner did it feed His sheep and lambs? And what, subsequent to the Restoration, the period at which we have arrived, was the character both of its chief and under shepherds? for parity among its functionaries ranked in the eyes

of its royal creator from the first as a heresy of the first water. These queries are important, and replies shall be given from none but important and unimpeachable witnesses. To begin, on the character of Scottish Episcopacy as a Church we cannot cite a more absolutely impartial witness than Hallam, in the Con. His., Vol. III., page 329: - "The main controversy between the Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian was one of historical inquiry, not perhaps capable of decisive solution; it was one as to which the bulk of mankind are absolutely incapable of forming a rational judgment for themselves. But mingled up as it always has been, and most of all in Scotland, with faction, with revolution, with power and emolument, with courage and devotion, with fear and hate, and revenge, this dispute drew along with it the most glowing emotions of the heart, and the question became utterly out of the province of argument. It was very possible that Episcopacy might be of apostolical institution; but for this institution houses had been burned and fields laid waste, and the Gospel had been preached in the wildernesses, and its ministers had been shot in their prayers, and husbands had been murdered before their wives, and virgins had been defiled, and many had died by the executioner, and by massacre, and in imprisonment, and in exile and slavery, and women had been tied to stakes on the sea-shore till the tides arose to overwhelm them; and some had been tortured and mutilated; it was a religion of the boot and thumb-screw, which a good man must be cool-blooded indeed if he did not hate and reject from the hands that offered it. For, after all, it is much more certain that the Supreme Being abhors cruelty and persecution, than that He has set up Bishops to have a superiority over Presbyters."

The above testimony regarding Stewart Episcopacy from an outsider is decisive, but the people had more than all this to say against it; besides being the symbol of tyranny and cruelty its ministers, with one or two exceptions, the saintly Leighton being chief, were such creatures as the Apostle Jude describes as wandering stars to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever!

On this point we have corroborative and equally unimpeachable testimony of Burnet, himself a Scot, an Anglican bishop, and one of the most honest men who ever lived. After many references in the most contemptuous terms to Archbishop Sharpe he (page 89 Hist. O. Times),

goes on to say, "The care of finding proper men for filling the other sees was left entirely to him. The choice was generally bad. Two men were brought up to be consecrated in England, Fairfoul, designed for the see of Glasgow, and Hamilton, brother of Lord Belhaven, for Galloway. The former of these was a pleasant and facetious man, insinuating and crafty; but was a better physician than a Divine. His life was scarce free from scandal, and he was eminent in nothing that belonged to his own function. Hamilton was a good-natured man, but weak," and so on in similar terms of all the others, except Leighton. He thus describes the "Inferior Clergy": -They were generally mean and despicable in all respects. They were the worst preachers I have heard; they were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them were openly vicious. were a disgrace to their orders and the sacred functions, and were, indeed, the dregs and refuse of the Northern parts. Those of them who rose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers that they were hated as much as the others were despised." Would the reader like to have the testimony of the same eminent prelate regarding the ministers who had been supplanted by these unfortunates? Here it is: - "The former incumbents, who were for the most part Protestors, were a grave sort of people. They used to visit their parishes much and were full of the Scriptures. They brought the people to such a state of knowledge that cottagers and servants could have prayed extempore. They kept scandalous practices under severe discipline."—See Hist. O. Times, page 102).

What the Restoration involved to our Province by suppressing its beneficent and developing its maleficent agencies will, presumably, fall to be narrated, but, in the meantime, we take the liberty of extracting the following pregnant passage from the testimony of that honest eye witness. Duncan Forbes of Culloden:—

"Since the Reformation the strength of the nation stands upon another foundation (than superiors or chiefs) for the preaching of the Gospel brought in a light upon the consciences of the people. The far greater part of the nation will neither follow superior nor chief, but in so far as they are convinced that the undertaking is consonant with the laws of God and the kingdom. When Charles II. came to the Crown he found the design of his predecessor so well accomplished that the nation was in entire peace; theft and robbery extinguished; vassalage

and clans broken; exact obedience to the laws; the Gospel preached all over the kingdom and an orderly discipline exercised in a well-governed Presbyterian Church, without schism, division, or so much as a contradiction; so that never Prince started better that he, for he governed easily a people who had nothing to crave, but have his commands to obey. But the design of the last two reigns being to introduce Popery and arbitrary power, and men of conscience being improper instruments for bringing such purposes about, so contrary was it to their ingrained principles; it was found necessary to overturn all the good establishment already made in the nation, and act contrary to the policy of former kings by setting up superiors and chiefs again, whereby they became fit instruments for destroying men of conscience, who were like to stand in the way of those alterations that were intended to be made upon the religion and liberties of this nation."—Culloden Papers).

Another eye-witness, Burnet, from the opposite political camp, has substantially the same story to tell. Among other impeachments he says of the Scottish upper classes:—"They were easily brought to like slavery if they may be the tools for managing it."—(Hist. O. Times).

When men become wiser and better than they are no circumstance in the past will, we believe, surprise them more than, that down to the closing years of the 19th century, writers have frequently appeared whose sympathies were less with the victims than with the agents of Stewart misgovernment; and, though not going quite the length of justifying the tyranny of that Line, speak of the cruelties perpetrated in its name as mere legal severities. Yet, surely, if the matter was fairly considered, the uncouth phraseology these victims practiced—frequently and injustifiably termed cant—their perverse impracticableness in politics and the confessedly inquisitorial proceedings by which the Presbyterian clergy endeavoured to discourage vice and encourage virtue, should appear not only forgiveable but amiable as compared with the hideous lawlessness and down-right blackguardism of their oppressors; but somehow the contrary is the case, and the desirable improvement will have to be waited for in the good time coming.

In Ross the Restoration, as a matter of course, involved the reversal of every forfeiture and a condoning of all such Covenant engagements as were superseded by an adherence to the new order of things. Thus

the Sheriffdom of Cromarty was bestowed upon Sir John Urquhart of Craigton, as next of kin; the laird of Redcastle was liberated and reinstated; and Seaforth was not only liberated and had his estates restored, but was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ross.

In ecclesiastical matters, however, more than a year elapsed before the change was felt, but about that time, though the Dingwall Presbytery continued moribund, the Synod was convoked and had the orders read to it of its now superior court—Middleton's drunken Parliament. These in effect were, that every minister of Ross, when called upon, must, on pain of expulsion from his cure, repudiate the Covenant and all the measures to which it led, and also subscribe the new oath. Thereupon Mr Hogg—long a marked man—was asked by the Moderator (the See was not then filled) whether or not he was prepared to make the repudiation and subscribe the oath. That gentleman promptly replied in the negative. Regarding the proceedings of this Court, the character of its Moderator, with that of his victim, we have seen nothing so good as the following from the pen of our gifted countryman, Hugh Miller:—

"In a meeting of Synod which took place in 1661, the person chosen as Moderator was one Murdoch Mackenzie; a man so strong in his attachments that he had previously sworn to the Covenant no fewer than fourteen times, and he had now fallen desperately in love with the Bishopric of Moray. One of his brethren, however, was an unmanageable, dangerous person, for he was uncompromisingly honest and possessed very considerable talent, stood directly in the way of his preferment. This was the celebrated Mr Hogg of Kiltearn, who had not sworn to the Covenant half so often as his superior, the Moderator, but then he was so strong-headed as to regard his few oaths as binding; and he could not be brought to like Prelacy any better for its being espoused by the king. And so his expulsion was evidently a matter of necessity. The Moderator had nothing to urge against his practice, for no one could excel him in the art of living well; but his opinions lay more within his reach, and no sooner had the Synod met than, singling him out, he demanded what his thoughts were of the Protestors-the party of Presbyterians who, about ten years before, had not taken part with the king against the Republicans. Mr Hogg declined to answer; and on being removed that the Synod might deliberate, the Moderator rose to address them. Their brother of Kiltearn, he said, was certainly a great man—a very great man—but as certainly were the Protestors opposed to the king; and if any member of the Synod took part with them, whatever his character, it was evidently the duty of the other members to have him expelled. Mr Hogg was then called in, and having refused, as was anticipated, judicially to disown the Protestors, sentence of deposition was passed against him. But the conscience of the men who had thus dealt with him, betrayed in a very remarkable manner their real estimate of his conduct. It is stated by Wodrow, on the authority of an eye-witness, that sentence was passed with a peculiar air of veneration, as if they were ordaining him to some higher office; and that the Moderator was so deprived of his self-possession as to remind him, in a consolatory speech that 'Our Lord Jesus Christ had suffered great wrongs from the Scribes and Pharisees.'"

Hogg was thus the first of the five victims sacrificed in Ross to the interests of Prelacy and Arbitrary Rule. After being hunted from one hiding place to another, alternating with one or more imprisonments in the Bass during the succeeding twenty-seven years, he survived it all, and was honoured to reoccupy the pulpit of Kiltearn for some time before he died, leaving the inscription on his stombstone to testify against the curse of an "ungodly ministry" receiving any countenance from the people.

There is reason to believe that Mr Hogg was constitutionally a fighting man, who saw clearly, felt deeply, spoke with corresponding emphasis, and acted as became one to whom the interests of Religion was everything, and the interests of the Families was but the dust of the balance. Mackilligen, on the other hand, though equally sincere, was of milder temperament, and prepared to sacrifice everything but principle if peace could be maintained. In these circumstances it seemed a not unlikely thing to the patron, Sir John Mackenzie, that by the exercise of some patience, supplemented by an occasional conference, Mr Mackilligen might, after all, be induced to accept the new order of things, become a renegade like himself, and remain in Fodderty, a policy which was warmly supported by the Bishop on his accession. Mackilligen, however, did or said nothing to encourage these views, but resolved, so long as he was permitted, to continue in the exercise of his parochial duties. In this way two years passed away.

Not until 1663 was the See of Ross supplied with a Bishop, John

Paterson—a querulous dotard—having secured the appointment, and important changes followed. After a few months delay Mr Mackilligen was, at the instigation of the Bishop, served with an ultimatum; the terms-immediate conformity to the restored order of the Episcopate or deposition. He accordingly, at the ensuing Lammas, demitted his charge, giving as his reason that to him comformity would simply mean "a destroying of the foundation which God had laid in His Church." He then took up his residence in a house belonging to himself in Alness; forthwith commenced the proclamation of the Glad Tidings to all who visited him, and frequently crossing over to Moray to hold conventicles there. This conduct was held to be in the last degree obnoxious. Paterson, with the apostolical unction still damp on his addled head, cited Mackillgen to a diocesan meeting to answer for, among other things, preaching, praying and reasoning against the new order of things, and threatened the extreme penalty of excommunication in the event of contumacy. The minister treated the citation of the Bishop with proper contempt, and sarcastically remarked anent the threat, that "he heard Balaam intended to curse him, but he did not question that it would end like Shimea's cursing of David." There were prophets in those days!

Paterson and his supporters finding that Mackilligen was not the sort of man whom scenic thunder could discompose, dropped the process of excommunication and resolved, should occasion serve, to call upon the secular arm to act. An excuse was at length found. In October, 1676, Hugh Anderson, the non-conforming minister of Cromarty, had in those days a child born to him, and as a brotherly act, Mr Mackilligen went down the firth to baptise it. The act was pronounced utterly illegal, but, as the law was then understood, greatly less so than the steps taken for its vindication. Cromarty was then under the sole jurisdiction of its own hereditary Sheriff, Sir John Urquhart, who, as we saw, had not much respect for the Bishop or his curates, and under that jurisdiction, accordingly, Mr Mackilligen would find himself comparatively safe. In fact, he continued to be Mr Anderson's guest for a few days. But, at Paterson's instigation, Seaforth, by no means an active abettor of "the Nell Gwynn Dispensation," though fully committed to the lawlessness of the period, was induced to ignore the Sheriff's authority, sent officers to arrest Mr Mackilligen in Mr

Anderson's house, by whom he was consigned to the Sheriff of Nairn to be taken to Edinburgh. After much kind treatment from the Sheriff, and by Seaforth's connivance, this was done. Mackilligen was set before the Privy Council, and by them confined in the Bass. In that horrible den he remained until October, 1679, when he was liberated, conditional on confining himself to the Island of Islay. While in the Bass he, with that cheerfulness inherent in true Christian manhood, wrote:—"Since I became a prisoner I dwell at ease and have security!" After spending some years in Islay, where he became utterly wrecked in health, Mr Mackilligen got back to Alness, where he died shortly before the Revolution.

CHAPTER XVI.

THOUGH Seaforth's conduct in the matter of Mackilligen's arrest was never called in question, yet he got into trouble with the Privy Council on account of his procuring for Mackilligen, while on his way south, more humane treatment than was approved of by that formidable Board. It was probably on that account, and also because of Bishop Paterson's whisperings anent his lack of zeal that Seaforth at that time set out for a continental tour, leaving his estates under the management of his masterful Countess, the evil genius par excellence of his line, regarding whom we shall have some things of a sombre character to relate.

What is known of Hugh Anderson, minister of Cromarty, is best supplied by Hugh Miller, Cromarty's most eminent son, and is concisely as follows:—" On the order of Council (issued in the autumn of 1662) for all ministers of parishes to attend a diocesan meeting, and take the prescribed oaths, the only absentees in Ross—exclusive of Mr Hogg—were Mr Hugh Anderson, of Cromarty; Mr John Mackilligen, Fodderty; Mr Andrew Ross, Tain; and Mr Ross, Kincardine, ejection in every case being the sentence. Mr Anderson, some time after, retired to Moray, accompanied by his bedral, and some years after they returned together to a small estate, Udol, belonging to the former, and situated in the western extremity of the parish. Seasons passed away; Episcopacy fell; and Hugh Anderson, now a grey-headed elderly man, was reappointed, after a lapse of more than thirty years, to his old charge, the parish of Cromarty."

The minister of Kincardine, Mr Thomas Ross, was deprived, 1st October, 1662, and went to live in Tain, whence, on the charge of keeping conventicles, he was dispatched, in 1673, to the Tolbooth of Nairn, then neither wind nor water proof. On petition, his place of confinement was next year changed to Tain, where it appears he

remained until October 9, 1677, when he was liberated on obtaining caution, to appear when called for, to the amout of 2000 merks. We shall see Brodie's estimate of his mean natural gifts but supremely excellent Christian character.. He and his widow after him were largely dependant upon the Diarist's Bounty. He died of an inflammatory throat affection in his own house in Tain on 19th January, 1679. When dedicating to him a volume of sermons, Fraser of Brea addressed him as a singularly pious minister.

Andrew Ross, M.A., Tain, was deprived by Act of Privy Council 1st October, 1662, and seems to have died soon after.

But one more of the Provincial heroes of that period remains to be mentioned, James Fraser of Brea. He was a gentleman by birth, the small estate in Resolis of that name having descended to him from his ancestors, and there he might have remained unmolested and in comfort had not the straits into which his country, and still more the cause of God had been reduced, being felt by him to outweigh every other consideration whatsoever. To him also belongs an honour to which none of the other local sufferers could lay claim; he did not cast in his lot with that of the Covenant until several years after the Restoration, when its public profession involved confiscation of property, the Bass, or exile, but such was the vigour with which he advocated its principles, and the success with which he preached the Gospel, that he incurred the special enmity of Archbishop Sharpe, the high honour of being named in an Act of Court as a peculiarly obnoxious person, and of having a large price promised for his apprehension. This, after a number of hairbreadth escapes and by means of the treachery of a servant, was at last (1677) accomplished. When on his trial before the Council, he was among other things charged with a breach of good manners; for while he addressed the other judges with due respect, he replied to the accusation of the Archbishop as if they had been those of a mere private individual. "In answer to this charge he confessed that he was but a rude man, and hinted, with some humour, that surely he had been brought before their lordships for some other purpose than simply to make proof of his breeding. After trial he was remanded to . prison and awakened next morning by the jailor, for he had slept soundly, that he might prepare for a journey to the Bass. At length, after an imprisonment of two years and a-half, during which his old

enemy, the Archbishop, had suffered the punishment there was no law to inflict, Fraser was set at liberty, and having spent much of his time in the study of Greek and Hebrew, besides reading Divinity and writing a treatise upon faith, he quitted his prison with no less zeal and with more learning than he brought into it. Still addicted to the crime of preaching the Gospel, he had to resume his wandering, unsettled mode of living, and while sick of the ague was in this condition cited before the Council at the instance of his old friends and bishops, where he defended himself with such spirit and ability that his lay judges were on the point of acquitting him. He was again, however, sentenced to be imprisoned at Blackness, until he had paid a fine of 500 merks, and given secuity that he should not again preach in Scotland, and immediately to quit the kingdom. After enduring a variety of troubles in England, he, at the Revolution, returned to Scotland, and was invited by the people of Culross, and afterwards by the people of Inverness, to become their pastor, but continued to exercise his ministry in the former place with great acceptance until his death."

We have now arrived at a stage wherein the Dingwall Presbytery Records bearing upon the Restoration period may be read with interest, but it may be proper first to give a few excerpts from these on such social offences as came under clerical review.

A commission of the General Assembly sitting at Auldearn in 1649, ordered Mr John Macrae "to be more painful to reform the evil menners of Dingwall, and compel ye residents to refrain from goeing to wells on ye Lordis Day." The well-worshippers of Urquhart or Ferintosh were also ordered to be taken in hand by the session in the same year. To ensure prosperity in their new house in Dingwall a family there "crosscut all the couples and did take a great quantity of the earth of it with them," a proceeding to which the owner of the old house naturally took objection. Other sorceries to which reference is made are the burying of a lamb under the threshold as a preventive of ills to the rest of the bestial, and the keeping of a "pocke of hearbs" in the milk as a preventive against the taking away the substance of it.

But it was the practice of witchcraft which called forth the most vehement denunciations of the Presbytery. Against "witchcraft and devilish practices of that sort," the brethren were, by the Auldearn Commission of Assembly, ordered to preach "powerfully," and it would

seem they gave some effect to the order. A notorious Fodderty witch named Agnes Mor nin vick ean glaish (Big Agnes the daughter of the son of grey John), it would appear, publicly "scolded, lyed, menaced, cursed, and used imprecations" against Mr Donald Fraser in 1672, appeared before the Presbytery in answer to the charge, but all that the brethren did was to ordain her "to be publicly rebuked by the minister after the sermon." The Court was equally gentle with Finlay Macconochie vic George and his wife, residents in the still witch-ridden Black Isle, for consulting with a witch for getting the profit of their drink (beer probably) formerly taken away from them as they alleged, and making use of a charm to that effect, and professing that to their mind it answered that purpose. The brethren were equally gentle with those who used charms for the recovery of Donald Glasse from sickness; to those also who used the like ocult agency in the case of the interrupted marital relations of Alexander Mac Ean mac Gilliereach and his wife; to those using charms for bringing luck and good fortune in connection with a flitting, and even to those in the alleged habit of raising the devil through the turning of the sieve and the sheer. It is curious," Mr Mackay says, "to note that this last expedient, which was resorted to for the purposes of divination, was known during the same period in Ross-shire, England, Ireland, and the South of Scotland. Hudibras, expressing his disbelief in telling the future by the aspect of the stars, declares:-

> Nor can their aspects though you pore Your eyes out on 'em tell you more, Than th' oracle of sieve and sheer That turns as certain as the sphere.

"Strange," Mr Mackay goes on to say, "the Capital of Ross, and the parish in which it is situated were without a school for years after some of their poorer neighbours had established theirs. In January, 1660, the learned Mr John Macrae 'regrates that he cannot prevaile in the matter of planting a school in Dingwall.' The Committee of Estates was appealed to, and Macrae was ordained to summon the Magistrates and heritors to appear before the Presbytery. Certain of the heritors, accordingly, appeared on 5th February, and declared the

inability of Dingwall to maintain a schoolmaster, unless the neighbouring parish of Fodderty joined. The Committee was again called upon for assistance; but their work closed with a reference to Parliament on 19th February. Next year, Mr John Macrae was ordained "to have ane school," but years passed before he succeeded, and we find no further mention of the matter until July, 1663, when his namesake, Mr John Macrae, was schoolmaster and Clerk to the Presbytery. In 1667 Mr Charles Alexander was the schoolmaster, Macrae having risen to the ministry. Alexander soon followed in his footsteps. But, notwithstanding these changes the school flourished until it acquired the status of a grammar school. In February, 1674, Mr George Dunbar was appointed "to be readie to have ane oratione, and to give ane exigesis of those words of Boethius in his books 'Consolatione Philosophie'"—

" Tu triplicis mediam natura cuncta moventem Connectens animam, per consona membra resolvis."

"And that as a specimen of his abilities to teach the grammare school of Dingwall, unto quhilk he was latlie presentid."

Among the ordinary crimes and offences into which we find the Presbytery inquiring were murder, wife murder, child murder, assault, adultery (in connection with which the penalty of death is alluded to), incest, perjury, drunkenness, failure to support child, and wife desertion, taking God's name in vain, scandalous usurpation of the ministerial function by John Macfinlay, vic Conil Donich, who disorderly baptised infants in the parish of Contin; blasphemy of a would-be theologian from Ferintosh, who declared "that Jesus Christ was a sinner all the time he was on earth"; and desecration by Kiltearn drovers, who made a cattle-fold of the ancient Church of Killichriost, which had been "without roof or door since the Glengarry men destoyed itself and its congregation by fire in the famous raid of 1603." (Evidently Mr Mackay has never seen Mr Kenneth Macdonald's brochure on "the famous raid.")

"The ministers were greatly obstructed in their work by the troubles of the times. On 2nd August, 1649, Duncan Macalister, vic Conil Dowy, an Urray relapser in adultery, failed to appear before the Presby-

tery because his 'guids' (cattle) were stolen from him, and he was in pursuit of them. On the 15th, no elders or people attended a Presbyterial visitation of Kintail, 'except a few that were not considerable,' for the reason that 'they were in pursuit of guids that were stolen and away-taken from the several corners of the cuntrie.'" It will be allowed that as affording some clear glimpses of the History of our people at this period these excerpts from Mr Mackay's preface are of considerable value.

The curious reader taking up the Dingwall Presbytery Records bearing upon the Restoration period with the view of ascertaining what Scottish Episcopacy in one of the outlying districts was like, would, it is certain, be disappointed. Wodrow or Calderwood would better serve his turn. He will, it is true, occasionally meet with a reference to the bishop, the dean, the chapter, the Synod, to the lay pillars of the system, notably Seaforth and Tarbat, but nothing regarding the "three clean surplices at All-Hallow-tide," liturgies, or canons-things then unheard of in Scotland-but over which the ever-to-be-lamented Laud made such a pother. In point of fact, Episcopacy, as we understand the term, did not then exist, its characteristic functionaries being merely ornamental, except when conducting the persecution against the Covenanters. The Presbyteries and Synods met, appointed clerks and Moderators, and discussed matters pertaining to religion and morals, just as usual, and though in the following excerpts the local Court seems to be loud and persistent enough regarding the weakening of their hands, they, with a prudence which does them credit, relegate penal matters to the bishop, the Council, and Seaforth. Why should the informer incur the infamy of the catch-pole?

1663, May 19th.—" Mr John Mackilligen, who had refused to conform, was expected to quit his house at Inchrory at Lammas, but appeared unwilling to do so; the Moderator, in name of the Presbytery, is appointed to write to the bishop and Tarbat thereanent. They ordain that the vacant kirks of Alness and Kiltearn be served by the brethren as often as they can."

November 24th.—" The Presbytery being informed that Mr Thomas Hogg exercises part of the ministerial function in his late parish of Kiltearn, appoints him to be summoned before the next Presbytery. At that meeting the Moderator said it could not be done, he not getting

intelligence of his whereabouts that he might fix a summons upon him; 'and that having met the dean, when he wrote the bishop, he desired him to wait upon the bishop's answer.'"

1666, January 2nd.—"Mr Walter Ross (Alness), reports having summoned Mr John Mackilligen for not requiring baptism for his child according to the Presbyterian order, had for a reply that the act was already performed by a Caithness minister. It was ordered that with respect to this difficulty the Presbytery advise with the bishop."

August 28th.—"This day assembled with the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Bishop of Ross, the Presbytery of Dingwall, and Messrs Munro and Johnston, assessors from the Presbytery of Channonrie." (The offensive title, Lord Bishop, common in the Inverness Presbytery Records, does not occur in those of Dingwall).

1667, September 3rd.—"Mr John Gordon, Kiltearn, complains how much he is hindered in the exercise of his ministry by disloyal and disaffected persons, namely, Mr Thomas Hogg and Mr John Mackilligen, their several places and persons in the parish. He was enjoined to report his condition to the bishop at the Synod."

1671, January 11th.—"This day Mr Walter Ross (Alness), Clerk to the Synod, delivered to the brethren a list of the fugitives from the several parish of the diocese of Ross, and the Moderator desired public intimation to be made thereof in the several congregations to the end that they might be found and punished."

1673, May 13th.—" Ane Act of Privy Council against conventicles being read was ordered to be intimated publicly to ye several congregations to the end that they might be found and punished."

1678, August 6th.—This entry refers to that sacrifice of "ane bull in a heathenish manner in the Island of St Ruffus, commonlie callit Ellan Mourie, in Lochewe, for the recovery of Christine Mackenzie," and has already been referred to.

September 8th.—"This day Mr John Gordon, Kiltearn complained that one James Urquhart (Kinloss), a deposed and intercommuned minister, did keep conventicles in the laird of Fowlis his house, baptising several children in that district. That Mr Walter Denune also kept conventicles in Culbin, in Lemlair's relict her house, notwith-standing that the said Walter was prohibited by the Earl of Seaforth, by a letter sent to him. The Presbytery taking this into consideration,

thought fit that a letter should be sent to the bishop complaining of these disorders and to the Council and Seaforth, who was to be at Dingwall to-morrow, that means might be taken for suppressing Mr Denune's insolencie and disorderly walking."

October 1st.—"Mr John Macra declared that he had spoken to Seaforth anent Mr Walter Denune, and that the said Earl promised that he would acquaint the Council against him." Reference to this circumstance from "Brodie's Diary" will be made later on.

1681, May 3rd and September 6th.—"Mr John Gordon, Kiltearn, regretted that there were frequent conventicles in his parish, to the dividing of his congregation and weakening of his ministry in that place, which the brethren referred to the consideration of the bishop and the next ensuing Synod." "The minister of Kiltearn did regrait and complaine that Mr John Mackilligen keppit ane conventicle at Ketwell on the 28th August last; and again on October 3rd he complains that 'a vagran preacher' (Walter Denune) kept a conventicle at Katewell in October last. The brethren refer the matter to the bishop (Alexander Young, 1679) and the ensuing Synod."

In connection with Gordon and that fruitful ministry of his which, he was continually complaining, the Covenanters were weakening, the following facts will be of interest:—In 1676 Jane, or Margaret Bain, daughter of John Bain, IV. of Tulloch, gave birth to an illegitimate child, was cited to appear before the Session to answer for the same, but instead of obeying took refuge with her relative, Captain Mackay, Strathnaver. Eight years later (1684), however, she entered an appearance before that Court, and at her trial accused the Reverend John Gordon of being the father of the child, with much scandal as the result. We have failed to obtain any direct evidence as to how the case went, but from the fact that four years later Mr Hogg found his old pulpit vacant it is all but certain that Gordon was found guilty and deposed.

The list of those "fugitives from the several parishes of the diocese of Ross" who in 1671 were thus devoted to punishment is, we regret to say, extinct; only the names of those who were in a position to pay the larger fines inflicted by the Privy Council have come down to us. Whatever the punishment was, we have seen nothing to show that either the executioner or the dragoon at all exercised his characteristic evangelism in the district. On the one recorded occasion

(Obsdale Communion, 1671), against which, at the instigation of Bishop Paterson, an armed force was directed, it is extremely doubtful whether any weapon more lethal than a walking-stick could be found among the thousands then present. On that occasion, the under Sheriff, Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon, no bad sort of man by all accounts, and by no means zealous in the exercise of his sinister office, employed his party in pillaging Mr Mackilligen's orchard, while the service—a mile away— was proceeding. The result was that the Feast of Love was over and the congregation dispersed before he and his men appeared upon the ground.

There is ample reason to believe that then the opinions of the people regarding Church politics were more or less shadowy. As at the analogous period of the Disruption, 170 years later, they assumed that the seal which heaven had affixed to the evangelical labours of their ministers was also and necessarily affixed to their ecclesiastical views, while every thing said or done by those who had supplanted them merely served to establish these convictions. Then, although Hogg and Fraser, as we shall presently see, were, as regards their views of current matters, not exactly commendable, they, unlike Cameron and his followers, never induced an undisciplined peasantry to impale themselves upon the pikes of disciplined opponents. The "fugitives" in question would therefore submit in silence to whatever "punishment" the rancorous prelatists would see fit to impose. This also was the course taken by their more comfortably circumstanced fellow sufferers.

Chief among these was Mr Alexander Mackenzie of Kilcoy, the only one of his name who, when the foundations of our existing liberties were being laid, remained true to the Covenant engagements of 1643. He was, in consequence, fined the enormous sum (for the period) of £6000 Scots. Sir John Munro of Fowlis, who comes next, was fined £3690, and was, besides, along with his son and successor, Robert, imprisoned in 1684, by order of the Earl of Errol, the Earl of Kintore, and Sir George Munro of Culrain, the members of the Court of High Commission, who sat at Elgin in that year. As a result, it is believed, of Seaforth's interference, instead of being sent south, Sir John was confined in the prison of Tain, and his son in that of Inverness. The next three in point of amount, £2400, were Hector Douglas, IV. of Muldearg, Donald Fowler of Allan, and Walter Ross of Inverbreakie.

Andrew Macculloch, burgess of Tain, £1200; Duncan Forbes, merchant, Shandwick, £1200; David Ross of Pitcanny, £720; William Ross, Shandwick, £600; Malcolm Ross of Kindeace, £600; Munro of Culcairn, £360; Cumming of Kinnairdy, £360. Wodrow, who could produce documentary proof for the gross sum of £3,174,819 in fines levied at this period over Scotland, states that it greatly errs in defect, many parishes not having furnished returns. Thus, at least £21,930 was in this way obtained from Ross, while, no doubt, many smaller sums swere screwed out of the humbler Covenanters. It will be noticed that all these sufferers lived north of the Peffery.

In the absence of fuller information from local sources regarding the various personalities belonging to our Province, troubling and being troubled during this crucial period, we shall here avail ourselves of such side-lights as are supplied by "Brodie's Diary," and all the readier from the fact that the social position and elevated character of the diarist renders the information supplied inexpungable. We shall, at the same time, take the liberty of modernising the spelling:—*

^{*}Brodie's Diary forms one of the publications of the Spalding Club, and has no claim to be considered historical: it may be termed a record of the Spiritual Experiences of Alexander Brodie of Brodie, the notices of local events, together with the daily occurrences in private life being merely subsidiary, and, it may be added, the work was never intended for publication. Unfortunately, it has many breaks in its continuity. Beginning in January, 1655, the first part ends in October, 1656. Resuming in 1661, it closes in 1663. Next in 1671, and ending in 1673, and lastly from 1678 to April 16th, 1680, that is, the day before he died. It was continued from the latter date by his son and successor, James Brodie, and finally ends in February, 1685. Alexander Brodie of Brodie, or, from the fact of his being one of Cromwell's Court of Session judges, Lord Brodie, was born July 25th, 1617, and died on the day specified. He at an early date associated himself with the popular cause, but from his retiring disposition forbore taking an active part therein until 1643, when he was chosen to represent the county of Elgin in Parliament. He was twice chosen a Commissioner during the negotiations with Charles II., first to The Hague and afterwards to Breda, and on neither occasion was deceived as to the character of the new monarch. Before going to Breda the Commissioners were furnished with a letter of credit authorising them to borrow for the king's necessities £300,000, but none in Holland would accept the security offered. In the circumstances Brodie and Wynrame became personally liable for £100,000, which sum was never repaid. For these and other important services Brodie was rewarded after the manner of the period. He was excepted from the Act of Indemnity, and fined in the sum of £4800 Scots. In 1685 his son, the continuator of the Diary, was fined in £24,000 "for a half-year's withdrawing" (non-attendance upon the curate), "keeping an unlicensed chaplain, and the Lady Brodie's deposition whereby she confesses to three years' withdrawing and more." For these "delinquencies, disorders, and irregularities" they were by the Lord of the Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council, sitting at Elgin, the Earls of Errol and Kintore, and Sir George Munro of Culrain, declared amerced in the above sum. Nothing, to any unprejudiced reader of this book, can be clearer than the fact, not only that the Covenant was extensively signed but firmly held to by all classes in the wide Province of Moray. Obviously, when our friend Mr W. Mackay alleges to the contrary, it must be because he has not read the above work,

1651, December 1st.—The Cromwellians crossed Spey into Moray.

1653, August 10th.—Glencairn, with Lorne and Seaforth and the Highlanders began their Insurrection. Seaforth (Kenneth, III. Earl) on 30th October declared for the king and Kenmure. They raided Lethen's lands 20th January, 1654.

1653, July 2nd.—I received a letter from Tarbat (Sir John Mackenzie) desiring me to interpose for his liberation. (From this it would appear that Sir John was imprisoned by the Cromwellian Government).

1656, June 6th.—Refers to the rooted prejudice which Mr Murdoch Mackenzie had against the act for promoting piety. He said masters of families or of parents should not explain Scripture or catechise those under their charge. Men should not be tied to duties they cannot perform, as praying in their families. (This ornament of the Church was then minister of Elgin, and six years later was made Bishop of Moray).

1656, August 4th.—Went to Auldearn and saw the Earl of Seaforth's distress, he being strictly dealt with by his friends. He could find no outgate.

1656, October 10th.—Heard that the Earl of Seaforth and Glengarry were taken and confined.

1661, November 10th.—(Brodie in London endeavouring to get paid for money advanced to pay His Most Sacred Majesty's milk scores while in Holland. "The king hes not bread for himself or his seruands, and betwixt himself and his brother not ane Inglishe shilling."—Wynrame's Letters). I found my inclinations not averse to a form of Liturgy, because I have daily seen much disorder and extravagance in extempore public prayers.

1662, May 6th.—Poor man, Kilcowie, after so long spending of time, effectuated nothing and was dismissed. (On this occasion our excellent friend, Alexander Mackenzie of Kilcoy, was in London trying to obtain remission of his heavy fine of £6000, but refusing to abdure the Covenant was, as we saw, "dismissed.")

1662, June 14th.—Many are against us who would swallow us up; Middleton, Rothes, and Tarbat, whom we never wronged.

1662, August 21.—I heard to-night that there was much violence in the Committee towards fining me, and that Tarbat did drive it on with much fury, not voting it to be less than £40,000.

- 1662, November 6th.—I heard that Earl Seaforth by a shot (wadding) of a gun had burnt the kirk of Channonrie, other houses there being at the same time burnt by the accident.
- 1671.—James Fraser of Brea came here. He said the curates were worse than Pharisees, Pilate, or those that crucified the Lord. I expressed my dislike of that expression. (The layman was clearly the better sufferer).
- 1671, May 22nd.—Mr Thomas Ross (the deposed of Kincardine) was with me. I heard and saw his lot. Grace in a great measure with mean natural gifts, straitened and over-reached with debt.
- 1671, October 31st.—I did visit Mr Hogg. (Long a valued correspondent of Brodie's).
- 1671, December 8th.—Here came the Sheriff of Nairn (the laird of Calder) with his prisoner, Mr John Mackilligen, and accompanied by Mr Robert Gillespie. With Seaforth's connivance—for which that nobleman got into trouble—as well as his personal esteem for his prisoner, the Sheriff, Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder, retained him about in the capacity of private chaplain since his arrest in September, but in November peremptory orders arrived to have him sent south, followed by a repremand to his two friends.
- 1677, January 10th.—Yesterday sent Ro. Murray to Mr Thomas Ross in Tain.
- 1677, January 16th.—On Murray's return I was necessitated to send him back to Fowlis, to call Mr Hogg thither to avoid danger (of apprehension).
- 1677, January 22nd.—Spoke to the Earl of Moray; saw his intention to cite Lethen to present Mr Hogg, conform to his bond of cautionrie, and then to imprison him. He said they (the Covenanters) had no cause to forbear hearing but humour. I said they had a great cause for stumbling in the perfidiousness of ministers.
- 1677, February 1st.—Visited Mr Hogg. I advised him to withdraw for a time to Ross or Sutherland, and added that it was lawful when persecuted in one city to flee to another; but he questioned whether that precept applied to any but the apostles. I then told him that I had a commission from Lethen to say that whatever course he took for his inward and outward peace, to lay no stress upon the bond of cautionrie. I touched the opinion of not answering and compearing

before civil courts, and said it had no example in Scripture. There, appearances are noted, but no declinatures; but refusing to appear on citation is not noted, and we have many examples to the contrary; Luther and others. He replied, Luther's example is no warrant. (Clearly the layman was the safer theologian).

1677, February 8th.—I heard Brea was taken to the Bass. He has my sympathies.

1677, February 10th.—Heard that Calder was to be summoned south on account of Mr John Mackilligen.

1677, February 27th. - Kilravock and Kinsterie came here, and discussed ways and means for his (Mr Hogg's) liberation. They offered to concur in paying the forfeit, or penalty. Had, however, a letter from Mr Hogg stating his resolve to appear. (Brave Mr Thomas!)

1677, March 1st.—Mr Hogg did present himself this day to the Earl of Moray, and was put into the Forres prison, and immediately thereafter went south.

1679, December 16th.—This day, at 7 a.m., the Earl of Seaforth died at Channonrie.

1679, February 18th.—This day Mr Walter Denoon passed by, being taken by the Earl of Seaforth (Kenneth, IV. Earl) on the 12th, and sent from shire to shire. My soul grieved that this should be the first act of this young man's life.

me. He scrupled to preach to those who heard the conformed ministers. Lord! direct him and us in thine own approved way!

1680, March 8th.-Messrs Hogg and Mackilligen came here.

1683, October 22nd.—I heard that Calder was summoned to present Mr Hogg against the 1st November.

1684, April 17th.—Heard that Mr Hogg was at liberty and gone to England.

1684, April 25th.—The lady Muirton, fruitful in charitie, grace and liberality to Mr Thomas Hogg.

1684, July 30th.—Heard that James Fraser of Brea was again in prison.

These extracts from a scarce but intrinsically valuable book will, we hope, serve to throw some light on the records of a trying time in the history of our Provincial worthies. Plainly, they were men of like

passions with ourselves but, at the same time, held with heroic tenacity the principles—then extremely unfashionable—on which our present existing liberties are founded. That the principles in question were formulated then in a dialect now extinct does not alter the fact in the slightest, one way or the other, Sir Walter Scott and others notwithstanding.

CHAPTER XVII.

It may have occurred to some of our readers that in what we have written, ecclesiastical affairs have had alloted to their consideration a space altogether disproportionate to that given to those of a civil nature, but to this the obvious reply is, that during the ascendancy of the latter Stewarts, the former constituted not only the main stream of Provincial but of the National History as well. In point of fact, although the struggle for existence was then quite as keen as now, that for the national liberties, then identical with that for the national form of religion, so filled the public mind that except the vital statistics of our leading Families, and the one incident bearing upon the fortunes of the House of Kintail—to be presently referred to—little else has been thought worthy of record.

Subsidiary to our main narrative, our object in dwelling upon the general acceptance of the Covenant by our people, their subsequent falterings and repentance, together with the pains and penalties inflicted upon them for their faithfulness to its principles was, First, to expose the baselessness of the contention that they "gave but a scant welcome" to that famous instrument; and next, to show, as we have done, that when subjected to investigation the glory accorded to them of "sharing in every movement of the time in defence of the monarchy" resolves itself mainly into the ridiculous. With respect to the first, our view is that over and above its falsity it involves a miscarriage of justice so serious in itself that we find it difficult to control our indignation. It is really too bad to find men who in their own generation were subjected to merciless fines and imprisonments for strenuous resistance to an abject tyranny, relegated in ours, and that by writers of history, to contemptuous neglect for doing next to nothing. If this, then, is to be the measure meted out to the champions of liberty when contending against slaves

and executioners, it is plain that the patriot instead of hoping to fill a niche in the nation's Valhalla, must, in future, like the Christian—on the annihilation hypothesis—write himself down "of all men the most miserable."

But there is another side to the shield. Ross has the sinister distinction, important from an historical point of view, of having nurtured three of the most noted persecutors of the period, viz., Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat, Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, and Sir George Munro of Culrain. At first sight it may appear strange that though the first named was by far the worst of the three, and even of the period, it is the second who, in the popular estimate, occupies the most conspicuous niche in the temple of infamy. Though at best and worst but the efficient tool of greater rogues, his well-earned cognomen, "The Bloody Mackenzie," has proved of such a nature that it is certain to adhere to his name while Scottish piety remains a force and the Scottish people remain attached to their country's liberties.

While final moral adjustments await the resurrection of the body, that most certain event of the future, during the present, and for the encouragement or warning of the living, a resurrection of reputations is frequently called for when it becomes the function of History to issue summonses and preside over the assize. At this stage of our work that call seems to be imperative. Duty, therefore, lying in that way, the three personages aforesaid, accompanied by the kindred spirits with whom they associated, shall presently be called to the bar, and, while we are summing up their respective records, the reader is politely requested to assume the roll of assessor. Meanwhile, and because of its probable priority of date, the incident referred to, bearing upon the fortunes of the House of Kintail, will have to be narrated.

Here and at the beginning we are confronted with a difficulty, not, however, with respect to the facts which have never been disputed, but the date; the rule, it may be added, rather than the exception, as regards Highland annals. On this point, therefore, it must suffice to say, that between 1661 and 1679, but approximating to the former, Kenneth Odhar (dun), usually termed the Brahan Seer, a native of the Lewis, a retainer, and because of his undoubted gift, or misfortune of prescience, a favourite of Seaforth's, was, during the temporary absence of that nobleman, charged at the instigation of his disreputable Countess

with the crime of sorcery, and burnt to death somewhere in the vicinity of Fortrose. While being led to the place of execution he delivered the prediction here subjoined, usually termed the Doom of the House of Kintail; its literal fulfilment in our own day will be our duty to detail in the proper place:—

"I see a Chief, the last of his House, both deaf and dumb. He will be the father of four fair sons, all of whom he shall follow to the tomb. He shall live careworn, and die mourning, knowing that the honours of his House are to be extinguished for ever, and that no future Chief of the Mackenzies shall rule in Kintail. After lamenting over the last and most promising of his sons, he himself shall sink into the grave, and the remnant of his possessions shall be inherited by a white coifed lassie from the East, and she shall kill her sister. As a sign by which it shall be known that these things are coming to pass there shall be four great lairds in the days of the last Seaforth (Gairloch, Chisholm, Grant and Raasay), one of whom shall be buck-toothed, the second hare-liped, the third half-witted, and the fourth a stammerer. Seaforth, when he looks round and sees them, may know that his sons are doomed to death, and that his broad lands shall pass away to the stranger, and that his line shall come to an end."

These are the leading facts.

Here a few words on the Seer and his vaticinations may not be out of place. Kenneth Odhar occupies a place in Highland folk-lore similar to that held south of the Grampians by Thomas of Ercildoune; he was, there is reason to believe, a good, even a pious man, and as innocent of sorcery as of coining. That many of his predictions have been proved true by their fulfilment does not admit of question, though it is to be feared that, as in the case of "True Thomas," not a few alleged to be his may fairly be ascribed to imitators. One of the most important and authentic has been given above, and we will here add another equally reliable. During the middle of the 17th century no branch of the House of Kintail possessed more apparent vitality than the Fairburn Family. But the Seer, guided by his mysterious prescience, saw that their decay was imminent, and that the worm was about to eat them like wool. time was at hand, he said, when they would disappear from the land, and when their Tower would so become a desolation that a cow would bring forth a calf in its topmost room. The latter event occurred

precisely as stated early in the present century. The Tower had become a ruin and a receptacle for straw, and the historic cow, the property of a distant relative of the present writer, attracted by the fodder scattered about, ascended the spiral stair, and while there gave birth to the calf. By no persuasion, however, could she be brought to descend by the way she came, and had to be lowered by ropes to the ground.

The lady responsible for the death of the Seer was a daughter of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat, and if tradition is believed, a person of more than equivocal character. She was, in fact, and pre-eminently, the evil genius of the House of Kintail, the tragedy referred to being merely her crowning act of wickedness. Her leading motive, it is alleged, seems to have been a fear least her evil living should, through the mysterious faculty of the Seer, be accorded a greater and more clamant publicity. In those days sorcery was considered the most serious of crimes, and even when there was no powerful lady to oblige, suspicion was usually held to be sufficient evidence of the fact. Kenneth Odhar was, accordingly, charged before the Presbytery of Channonrie with trafficking with the devil, and with a court of such men as has been previously described, and the masterful Countess as an accuser, nothing was easier than to obtain a conviction in form. We shall meet this lady again, and in similar felonious circumstances.

Sir George Mackenzie, as a Court of Session Judge, Lord Tarbat, and subsequently first Earl of Cromartie, was born in 1630, at the residence of his maternal grandfather, Inverteil, parish of Kinghorn, and county of Fife, his mother, Lady Mackenzie of Tarbat, having on the occasion of the birth of her first child, gone to reside with her mother, Lady Invertiel. Sir George completed his education at the University of Aberdeen, and at the Restoration was appointed one of the Royal Commissioners for visiting that school of learning. His biographer assures us that he made the cause of the Stewarts his own at an early age, but omits to mention that previously, in the company of his fatheras we have had occasion to show—he had not only signed, but had borne arms for the Covenant. Soon after, however, this was seen to be a false step, and retraced, both having become parties to Seaforth's Bond, or Remonstrance, and bore arms in the futile skirmishes to which that change of front led. Eight years later (1654), the Cavalier party, limiting, as usual, their observation to the symptoms rather than the

causes of existing broils, and that Cromwell's assumption of supreme power would so alienate all parties from his Government that a combination in favour of "The rightful king" needed but a nucleus on which to form and conquer, they accordingly resolved to bestir themselves. The Earl of Glencairn exhibited a commission from the king—hitherto held in retentis-by which he was empowered to raise and officer a sufficient force, and in which the Highland element was to be largely represented. Stimulated by the hope of booty in quantity, about 5000 men were got together, and included a company raised and commanded by George Mackenzie of Tarbat. To this day the achievements of this army form a sore subject to the flunky mind. Duels among the officers formed a conspicuous feature of the campaign which followed, and the whole army-according to Sir George Munro-a mere horde of thieves and robbers, fell an easy prey to the Parliamentary forces at Loch Garry, in July of that year. George Mackenzie escaped with his life, laid his sword on the shelf, and for the remainder of his life confined himself to what were then termed legal studies. For the next six years he remained in the shade, but the Restoration, and the order of things it served to introduce, proved such an appropriate sphere for his natural and acquired talents that employment and promotion followed, as a matter of course. Than this, nothing could be more natural; for though among the Cavaliers the swashbuckler and the bully was, from the first, fully represented, their men of talent and counsel could at any period be counted by a child.

We learn from Burnet that on their accession to power, that party contemplated nothing short of having "the estates of all those concerned in the late wars divided among them." In these circumstances, therefore, the appointment of the Earl of Middleton to be the king's Parliamentary Commissioner seemed the most appropriate imaginable. That nobleman, however, a mere drunken reprobate, did not feel the post to be an easy one, nor was the reason far to seek. Clarendon, from his place in the Privy Council at St James' had again and again insisted that in the conduct of Scottish affairs some semblance to legal methods should be observed even with recusants, but how to combine that semblance with the wholesale system of plunder resolved upon, Middleton felt himself to be as unfit as a modern bargee to lead the House of Commons. In this strait Tarbat, supremely handsome in person,

polished in manners, known to possess in an eminent degree talents for intrigue, and then in his thirty-first year, caught his eye, was provisionally admitted to his secret counsels, and there not only showed a complete grasp of existing exigencies, but suggested expedients so adroitly that his superior was led to fancy that they had originated in his own addled head. A councillor of this stamp was felt to be a man in a thousand, and until Middleton's ignominious dismissal a few years later, Tarbat remained his favourite, and had the chief hand in formulating those measures—to be presently referred to—which his brazen-faced principal carried into effect. Substantial rewards followed. Cromwell's Judges were altogether too clean-handed for the work now imminent. Court of Session was accordingly "reorganised," and among the new functionaries our countryman took his place upon the Supreme Bench as Lord Tarbat. The record he made in that high place, in Parliament, where he represented Ross, and subsequently as a member of Privy Council, will appear as we proceed.

Middleton in his sober moments had but one feeling, thirst; drunk and sober but one passion, robbery of the State and subject under colour of law; and sleeping and waking one ambition, to trip up Lauderdale and have him superceded by his capable tool, Tarbat. Here follows what Burnet says anent the ambitious scheme in question:-" There was one Sir George Mackenzie, since made Lord Tarbat and Earl of Cromarty, a young man of great vivacity of parts, but full of ambition, and had the art to recommend himself to all sides and parties by turns, and has made great figure in that country (Scotland) now above fifty years. He had great notions of virtue and religion, but they were only notions, at least they have not had great effect upon himself at all times. He became now the Earl of Middleton's chief favourite. Middleton sent the Lord Tarbat up to the king with two draughts of an act of indemnity, the one containing an exception of some persons to be fined, and the other containing likewise a clause for the incapacitating of some" (Lauderdale, Crawfurd and Sir Robert Murray) "from all public trust." (On account of their having been Covenanters). "The king" (who had previous intimation of the plot) "received Lord Tarbat very coldly. When they delivered the Act of Incapacity to him, he assured them that it would never be opened by him, and said that their last actings were like madmen, or like men that were perpetually drunk. Tarbat was then

much considered at Court, as one of the most extraordinary men which Scotland ever produced, and was the better liked because he was looked on as the person that the Earl of Middleton intended to set up in the Earl of Lauderdale's room, who was then so much hated that nothing could have preserved him but the means taken to ruin him. So Lord Tarbat went back to Scotland."

The political petard which thus exploded the wrong way is termed in the books the Billeting—properly the Balloting Act—from the method in which it was brought to paper; nor can there be any doubt as to its contriver, for Tarbat assured Burnet "that he had from the beginning designed it." It was previously given out by our scheming countryman that the king had become tired of Lauderdale, and merely waited for a decent excuse to dispense with his services. It therefore became a loyal Parliament to act and supply that excuse. With the view of avoiding a charge of collusion, the members of Parliament—all well in hand—were instructed to prepare Ballot papers containing the names of twelve actual or potential public functionaries whom they deemed objectionable, nine of these they might select at their individual pleasure, providing the three names aforesaid appeared in every list. The work of the Committee of Scrutiny-it was said-would be in that way simplified, the twelve persons oftenest appearing would be inserted in the Act, justice would be done, and His Majesty would be gratified!

Tarbat's mortification at the non-success of this scheme must be left to the reader's imagination, but he was too astute a courtier to neglect the proper steps towards retaining or regaining the royal favour, and immediately set about eating humble pie in the following terms:—

"I do exceedingly regret my misfortune in negotiating a matter which hath so much offended his most sacred majesty, yet at that time I conceived myself bound to obey the Commissioner—he being delegat with royal power—in any employment he put on me." But this crying of peccavi did not save him; he, by a letter from the king dated 10th February, 1664, was deprived of his seat on the Bench. In that letter His most sacred majesty is made to say:—"We calling to mynd how that both we and our Parliament wer abused in that affair (the balloting) and weill remembering what wes the carriage of Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat therein, and having considered his depositions and concessions under his awin hand, have thought fit to lay him asyde from these

public trustis he dis enjoy in our kingdom." Lauderdale was so exasperated that he threatened to affront him in the face of Parliament; a threat which set Sir George's Highland blood aboiling. He told the Earl of Rothes that in that case he would produce and read in the same place certain letters which Lauderdale had addressed to the Parliament of Scotland, when as President of the Committee of both kingdoms in the year 1647, he persuaded them to deliver up the king, and in which he also made many severe reflections on the Royal Saint's conduct. Lauderdale was brought to his senses by this news, and a tacit treaty to let well alone was entered into between the parties. During the ten years which followed his dismissal, he continued to represent Ross in Parliament, and was accessory to all those measures which had, during that period, for their object the elimination of all that Scotsmen hold dear.

During his enforced retirement Sir George could congratulate himself on at least one achievement marking his short term of office, than which the Prince, of Machiavelli contains nothing to equal. We, of course, refer to the infamous Act Recissory. What the scope and intent of that measure was, the reader will best understand by supposing that during the closing years of the 19th century, and as a result of a political earthquake, a Parliament came into existence which passed an Act annuling every other, good, bad and indifferent in the Statute Book, dating from 1832, the carrying out of its provision being placed in the hands of men in no sense better, and in severals worse, than Robespiere, Couthon and St Just!

Readers of Burnet's History are aware, that Primrose, whom he describes as one of "the herd of the Cavalier party, very fierce and full of courage over their cups, though they had been very discreet managers of it in the field, and in time of action," being besides an inflated, worthless sort of person, claimed in Burnet's hearing of being the contriver of this measure; but here in opposition we have the clear testimony of at least a sober witness, the Lord Advocate Mackenzie. He says:—"His kinsman, Lord Tarbat, from his passionate loyalty, had resolved to rescind the Acts of all the Parliaments subsequent to that of 1640, because among other reasons offensive to every courtier, they had their remote origin in force and usurpation."

There is, however, a sense in which Primrose may have been well

within the truth. It was our examplary countryman's invariable habit when making a political experiment to put the materials, with directions, into the hands of some vain-glorious associate: if the move turned out successful he was in a position to take the credit and reward himself; if the result was an explosion there would merely be an empty head less in the world. It would therefore appear that in this sense only can Primrose be credited with the Act Recissory. The local reader will, no doubt, here and in appropriate terms regret that "passionate loyalty" should be so very ill-rewarded!

It is on record that when Tarbat proposed this measure to Middleton that unscrupulous politician was at first dismayed in view both of its immediate and future consequences, but soon yielded to the persuasions of the Mephistopheles at his elbow. This dismay need not be wondered at, for apart from the overturn of the Church—a term which covered all law-abiding Scotland, it fully justified the action which had previously led to Marston Moor and Naseby.

Those are pedants who even to this day hold that the Covenanters had no justification whatever for sending armed help to the English Parliament. They had got-it is said-under the sign manual all they wanted from the king. We have seen that our friend, Mr Mackay, adopts this view as serving to justify the support he alleges to have been given by the people of Ross. But is it possible to conceive of a situation out of which an unscrupulous partizan cannot find a plausible means of escape? Tarbat argued, as the other Sir George Mackenzie fully shows, that these concessions were exhorted by the Covenanters from the king by force (was ever similar concessions granted otherwise?) and, therefore, though this conduct of theirs was fully homologated by that monarch, those maxims of absolutism under which the Stewarts acted behoved now, when their power was restored, to be re-established. The mere partizan fails to see the retrospective action of Tarbat's device, but every unsophisticated Scotsman saw, at the period in question, and now sees, in the light of this Act, that the royal concessions more than aught else, justified the wrenching of that sword out of the king's hand which, like a madman, he was bent on using.

It would lead us too far afield to recount the doings of the rogues in office during the period of Tarbat's eclipse—which was soon after shared by his patron, Middleton—but the character of the principal performer, the Earl of Lauderdale, then, and long after in power, may, from his subsequent alliance with our countryman, here find a place. For this purpose we shall draw both upon Macaulay and Burnet.

Macaulay says:-"It would be an injustice even to Fouche to compare him with Lauderdale. The Govern-. . ment wanted a ruffian to carry on the most atrocious system of misgovernment with which any nation was ever cursed, to extirpate Presbyterianism with fire and sword, and by drowning of women, by the frightful torture of the boot, and they found him among the chiefs of the rebellion and the subscribers of the Covenant." That by Burnet is still more edifying:—"I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill-appearance; he was very big; his hair red, hanging oddly about him; his tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to; and his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a Court. He was very learned, not only in Latin, in which he was a master, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of Divinity and all the historians, ancient and modern, so that he had great materials. He had with these an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the Duke of Buckingham called him to me, of a blundering understanding. He was haughty beyond expression, abject to those he saw he must stoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong it was a vain study to convince him; that would rather provoke him to swear. He was the coldest friend and the most violent enemy I ever knew. He at first seemed to despise wealth, but he delivered himself up afterwards to luxury and sensuality, and by that means ran himself into a vast expense, and stuck at nothing that was necessary to support it. In his long imprisonment he had great impressions of religion on his mind; but he wore these out so completely that scarce any trace of them was left. His great experience in affairs, his ready compliance with everything that he thought would please the king, and his bold offering of the most desperate counsels gained him such an interest in the king that no attempt against him, nor complaint of him, would ever shake it, till a decay of strength and understanding forced him to let go his hold. He was in his principles much against

Popery and arbitrary power; and yet by a fatal train of passions and interests he made way for the former, and almost established the latter. Whereas some, by a smooth deportment, made the first beginnings of tyranny less discernible and acceptable, he, by the fury of his behaviour, heightened the severity of his ministry, which was more like the cruelty of the Inquisition than the legality of justice. With all this he was a Presbyterian, and retained his aversion to King Charles I. and his party to his death."

Endowed with absolute power, while utterly unscrupulous as to its exercise although Lauderdale was, in 1677 the chaos induced by his misgovernment had reached such a height that a confederate of wide views and force of character had obviously become indispensable, not indeed that the distemper of the body politic might be laid bare and the fitting remedy applied—a thing never for a moment contemplated—but that the symptoms might be so repressed that the uniform goal of tyranny, national stupefaction, might be induced.

Everybody saw that so far as fitness went Tarbat was first and the rest nowhere. But then, did not that fatal Balloting Act escapade place him beyond all reasonable forgiveness? True, adversity does sometimes, as here, bring the most inveterate foes together, and on this point honest Duncan Forbes has a few pertinent remarks. He says: - "Tarbat having confined himself several years at home, changed sides, and solicited earnestly for Lauderdale's favour, whose answer was 'neither grace or favour for him.'" But the chaos referred to and the open hostility of the House of Hamilton, at length suggested healing measures. To these there was the further inducement that Tarbat, on resuming his place in Parliament, had given a strenuous support to every measure of the Government. Lauderdale became placable, obtained the sanction of the king, and through the appropriate mediatorship of Sharp, opened negotiations with his former enemy, and at length, in 1678, made him Lord Justice General, to which, on 17th October the king added the further encouragement of a pension of £200 a year. On 11th November, 1678, Tarbat was sworn a member of Privy Council, and in October, 1681, was appointed Lord Clerk Register, a promotion which carried with it apartments in Holyrood House. From that date on to the Revolution the chief management of Scottish business remained in his hands. Thus, with Tarbat presiding

upon the criminal bench, Lord Advocate Mackenzie demanding libations of blood at its bar, Dalziel, Claverhouse, and Grierson of Laggs, as their missionaries in the fields and moors, Scottish piety had a very full cup indeed put into its hands to drink. Happily, it had from its Author a stout constitution, stood at bay, and at length overcame them all!

When it is said that during the period in question, and virtually, the chief management of affairs was in Tarbat's hands, it does not require pointing out that such men as the Earls of Aberdeen, Queensberry and Perth, filled the more showy and conspicuous places, and even had a free hand in many of the villainies in progress, an arrangement which best suited all parties—especially Tarbat.

As in 1661, by his Recissory Act, so on his accession to power, by a more infamous measure still, the Covenanters were made to feel his inextinguishable malice, vide the following extracts from Duncan Forbes (C.P.)

"The persecution against the Presbyterians turning hot, Tarbat became a notable deviser of mischief against them for which he was made Clerk Register. It was he who found out the way of putting men to death for silence, and of shooting men on the highways without process, jury or record, for which service, it appears, he got a pension from King Charles I. of £400 sterling for life, to be paid out of the Crown rents of Ross." He adds:—

"In King James' time he was a member of that secret committee who were for introducing Popery and taking away the penal statues (which he termed sanguinary laws), doing his utmost for abolishing them, and thereafter was the contriver of a letter of thanks to King James for assuming the dispensing power by proclamation."

With respect to the exercise of our countryman's judicial functions during the insane tyranny of the period, a glimpse may be had from a letter addressed to the Earl of Athole, and dated 6th September, 1684. In it he says:—"Argyl's letters now discovered show a plane and intended rebellion both in England and heer. Spence's help hath opened all the letters plainely. Carstares is just coming to a confession also." The Spence here referred to was a servant of the Earl of Argyle, was taken up on suspicion, and sent down to Scotland. He was required to take an oath and answer all the questions put to him. This, as Spence pointed out, was not only in the teeth of an express law, but against the

universal law, which sanctioned all men from swearing against themselves. He was put in the boots, but continued firm in his refusal. Next, he was kept from sleep for more than a week, but continued to hold out. At last the thumbkins were brought forward, and such was the exquisite torture they induced that Spence capitulated on terms. He revealed the cipher under which Argyle conducted his correspondence with Holmes, the secretary of the Confederates.

The oath was next proffered to Carstares and refused. His thumbs were then subjected to the thumbkins with such rigour that when he agreed to take the oath, a smith had to be called to undo the screws. His replies were, however, of little value, amounting merely to a report of inflamatory language he had overheard. But at that moment he had in his possession secrets of great consequence from Holland, of which his inquisitors had no suspicion, the revealing of which would have not only saved him from torture but have procured him reward. This reticence was the foundation of his friendship with King William, of which this country and himself had afterwards such ample proof.

It will be admitted by even those to whom eminent success in life justifies the procuring means, that the scene just described was by no means edifying. Perth, who presided, may have resembled, like many of his contemporaries, a "thing made at Nuremberg of wood and leather and inhabited by a devil," but what are we to think of our countryman, there as the administer of criminal law, and, of course, aware of the scandalous illegality of the whole proceedings? It would indeed seem that long experience had not only enabled him to witness with cheerful indifference the agonies of his fellow-creatures, but to conclude that all laws, human and divine, behooved to give way rather than that his own high place and a fiendish tyranny would suffer peril. In these circumstances it would be of interest to know what his ideas of God really were, and in regard to whom he, two years later, professed to be so grateful for "many spiritual and temporal blessings," that as a fitting return he executed a deed of mortification in behoof of the poor on his various estates, clogged, however, with a few characteristic conditions. The people to be benefited must, like himself, be of examplary life, attend church regularly, and continue instant in prayer for the king, the bishop of Ross, the donor and his family. Clearly no Covenanter might apply!

His own virtue had about that time its appropriate reward. He had all along been a man after James II's. own heart, and now, barely two months after the accession of that monarch, he was created Viscount Tarbat and Lord Macleod of Castlehaven. The Earldom of Cromartie followed in 1703. It cannot, however, be said that for these and many preceding favours his returns was examplary or even decent. September, 1688, the king apprised his Scottish Council of the impending invasion from Holland, and ordered the army to march into England. Authentic information soon after arrived that the Prince of Orange had actually landed. The game of tyranny had clearly gone to water! In their bewilderment the Council resolved upon sending an express to the king for such instruction as the crisis demanded. Tarbat, though conscious that he had sinned beyond all reasonable hope of forgiveness, resolved on repeating his tactics, re Lauderdale, and instructed one Bailie Brand, a creature of his own, whom he recommended as bearer of the dispatch, to carry his offers of service and the dispatch itself to the Prince of Orange. Brand made all needful diligence, duly arrived in the Dutch camp and was introduced to William by Burnet. Tarbat's next move towards making friends with William was to put that Administration of which he was the virtual head and regulating force out of gear. With Sir John Dalrymple as a confederate and the Marquis of Athole as a tool, the plan consisted of inducing the Chancellor Perth to order, as a step demanded by the present exigency, the disbanding of the militia, supporting this by many specious arguments. Perth fell into the trap, and the next day the main prop of the Stewart tyranny ceased to exist. This move led to the next, which was to get rid of the Popish Lords on the Council Board. Athole and his party now waited upon the Chancellor and intimated that since he and his co-religionists were incapacitated by law, they, with safety to themselves, could no longer act with them in the Council, and coolly required their This was stunning! But after a brief conference the Popish lords saw the propriety of the step, and it was at once taken. Thus every hindrance to the meeting together in force of the enemies of the Government was removed, and so far as Scotland was concerned the Revolution was virtually accomplished.

The meeting of the Convention followed, but Tarbat had become a marked man, and felt his neck in imminent danger. Here follows what

Duncan Forbes says regarding this crisis: - "On account of his performances he had become so odious to the nation that upon the Revolution he was possessed with terror and stood up in Parliament (Convention) confessing his sins, and that he had been an ill man; crying out, was there no mercy for a penitent sinner? and professing to confine himself at home for the rest of his days, providing the Parliament (Convention) would but spare his life and fortune, which he acknowledged he merited to lose because of the many ill things he had a hand in, etc., etc. Yea, so strong was his convictions that, notwithstanding all the comfortable promises he had from the Duke of Hamilton he disguised himself and fled to England upon the night." In point of fact, he was arrested, but managed to escape. He posted to London and obtained an interview with William. That astute person felt that in the existing chaos in Scotland, and because of the uniform want of principle in its politicians, the services of such an adroit manager as Tarbat, though known to be the worst of the ruck, could hardly be dispensed with. Thus, to the surprise of every one, himself included, he returned to Scotland an accredited supporter of the new regime, and with an exoneration for his past misdeeds in his pocket.

For the atrocities committed by him as Judge, Tarbat does not seem to have been called to account, but it was slightly otherwise with respect to his intromissions as Lord Clerk Register. He had acquired a well-established notoriety for falsifications, altering as he thought fit Acts of Parliament, and of emitting orders in its name for behoof of his relatives which had never been given. This was a crime amounting to Treason. He was even charged with what was morally worse, for the king was necessitated to grant a commission to have him examined on oath that he had not "embezzled" one of the Registers. That there existed good ground for the charge is evident from the fact that in 1692, we find him repeatedly and imploringly writing to Carstares—a former victim, as we saw, but now a man of great influence—to procure for him from the king a general remission of all crimes whatsoever, inclusive of treason and pardullion. The king was quite aware of the facts, but met the demand for a trial under the capital charge, in a way familiar to politicians. He felt that as a deterring influence upon the debased politicians of Scotland, the hanging and quartering of one of their number would be inappreciable. Tarbat was, accordingly, in

1694, permitted to retire into private life, where he remained during the remaining years of William's reign. His further employments and honours under Queen Anne does not concern us. He died in August, 1714, and, as his monument shows, was buried in Dingwall on 23rd September. Such was Tarbat.

Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, of the Loch-Slin Family, was born in 1636, and died in 1691. In procuring the conviction of Westland Whigs for rejecting the Court religion and politics he was admittedly "facile princeps," and has been accorded a corresponding infamy. It is, however, but fair to add that rather than agree to the dispensing power he quitted office. But as to his other accomplishments—dabbling in what then passed for science being one of them—for which he secured the applause of Dryden, and that he wrote over thirty books on various subjects, twenty-nine of which are forgotten, he, after all, appears to have been a mere pretentious smatterer. This was certainly the opinion entertained of him as an historian and writer on Heraldry, by the acute and really learned George Chalmers, while Burnet thought similarly of his cyclopædic information. It is, however, proper to remember that to him we owe the Advocates' Library.

Sir George left no descendants to blush over their ancestor's notoriety. Of that notoriety a friend of ours had, a few years ago, a most realistic experience. He was sauntering away an hour or two in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh, when a party of strangers, like himself, entered, and were being conducted over the place by a person who, it would appear, was a native of the city. Our friend followed, so as to share the information imparted, and the party at length arrived in front of a vaulted and closed monument. At this point the cicerone stepped briskly up to the door, and applying his mouth close to the key-hole, shouted:—"Lift the sneck and draw the bar, Bloody Mackenzie come out if you daur!" Our friend was startled, and so were the others, but the explanation was that every Edinburgh boy, it would appear, performs this litany at Sir George's tomb once, or oftener, in his lifetime, by way of showing his own manhood and that the deceased's ill-deeds are still remembered and resented.

Sir George Munro of Culrain was one of that numerous class of Scotsmen who took part in the German wars of the 17th century, in which country he acquired that military knowledge he possessed. He

was sent by the Covenanters in 1649 at the head of a detachment to Ireland, where, in consequence of his equivocal conduct, he was dispensed with, and from that period onward acted with the Cavalier party. He held a command in Glencairn's rabble army and survived its defeat. At the Restoration he at once obtained employment, chiefly, it would appear, in organising and commanding the militia, and at the Revolution it fell to him, as commander, to carry out its disbandment. He does not appear to have been a man of blood. He is chiefly remembered as forming in 1685, along with the Earls of Kintore and Errol, that disreputable Court which sat at Elgin, for the purpose of punishing, for the crime on non-attendance at church, the Covenanters of Moray. One of its first steps was to erect a gallows, but it does not seem to have been called into requisition. Many of the common people were, on information furnished by the curates, sent to prison, while they fined the laird of Grant, £,45,500 scots; the laird of Brodie, £,24,000; the laird of Lethen, £,40,000, which went to the colleague of Douay; the laird of Milntoun, £,10,000; the laird of Windiehills, £,5000. laird of Pitgavnie was heavily fined and imprisoned in Blackness for fourteen months. By the sentence of the same Court at Elgin Mr James Urquhart, Mr Alexander Dunbar, and Mr George Meldrum of Crombie, ministers, were to be banished, "and to be transferred prisoners to Edinburgh, there to await transportation." They were sent to Blackness, and set free at the Revolution.



CHAPTER XVIII.

Though subordinate to the main questions then in course of agitation that of how the enormous sums, exacted by way of bribes and fines from the downtrodden people were expended, will naturally occur to the reader. To this but one answer can be given-they went, in what proportions is unknown, into the pockets of the "gentlemen of the road" then in power. That Middleton reaped an enormous harvest has never been disputed; that Lauderdale followed suit to a still greater extent has also been admitted; that Claverhouse-whose thirst for money fully equalled his thirst for blood-never accounted for a penny of his numerous exactions can be clearly established; and, coming nearer home, that Tarbat, as the Mephistopheles of the period, and when the first ripe fruits of the Restoration period were being ingathered, pocketed, with much else, every penny of that £,20,000 "conveyed" from the people of Ross we no more doubt than that we exist, and to this we attribute his early handsome additions to his ancestral domains. It does not follow that these local monies were all collected by summary process; preferably they would take the form of wadsets or mortgages, carrying heavy interest, held in terrorum over inimical neighbours, and leading to disastrous foreclosures. example, there is no doubt whatever that the fine levied upon the laird of Fowlis remained at least partly unpaid until the 18th century, and we shall presently see how the circumstance was utilised, as above, during the county election of 1704. Of Tarbat's gettings from James II., his admiring master, the estimate as follows, supplied by Duncan Forbes, may be depended upon: - "Having got from King James a gift of recognition of the estate of Cromarty, which had an heritable jurisdiction of Sheriffship extending over two parishes, he obtained a patent for adding his other estates in Ross to the said heritable jurisdiction of Cromarty, under a pretence of property, superiority, reverses, or other title, so that it is hard to know what belongs to Royalty, or what to his Lordship, which spoils the administration of justice there, for none in Ross knows where to execute an inhibition." Forbes next gives an account of his mal-appropriations of public property under various forms, amounting in all to 20,000 merks per annum, besides what accrued from his heritable jurisdictions. Taking all together it is doubtful whether any of Tarbat's confederates succeeded in transmitting to their descendants a tenth of the above as a set-off to the curse of God and man under which they lay and lie!

The Revolution having arrived at the stage indicated, the Presbyterians in various parts of the country, particularly in the West, assumed arms, a condition of things which Tarbat's policy had rendered easy, and for a time Scotland may have been said to be without a Government. By way of remedy the Prince of Orange recommended that a Convention of the Scottish Estates would be held, and which, accordingly, met in March, 1689, and both parties prepared for the contest. The Whigs, as our old Covenanting friends were now usually called, had at their backs the greater part of the South of Scotland, and in Fletcher of Saltoun and Sir John Dalrymple had men of affairs at their head infinitely superior to any which their opponents could produce. Those gentlemen had besides, by way of guard, a strong body of Westland Whigs, armed to the teeth, and in hiding in the garrets and cellars of Edinburgh. The Duke of Hamilton was voted President by a majority of fifteen, a fact which showed that Whiggism was in the ascendant. There our much-tried friend, Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, appeared as the Commissioner from Ross, and was thus one of those who decided that "because of the uniform illegality of King James's conduct he had forfeited his right to the Crown, and thereby the Throne had become vacant."

The Convention, following the example of the similar English body, settled the Crown on the Prince and Princess of Orange and the survivor of them, whom failing, the Princess Anne and her heirs. Shortly thereafter, as a Parliament, they demolished the whole "Tulchan apparatus," bishops, deans, curates, dragoons, the boot, the thumbkins, and the gallows. Presbytery thus became legally established, but so far as Ross was concerned, law and fact by no means coincided. With

the exception of two or three, its Episcopal clergy—as might have been expected—continued devout followers of the Vicar of Bray, and cheerfully took the required oaths. The resumption of Presbyterianism in the four northern counties was therefore, and necessarily gradual. It had been frequently, though erroniously, stated, that while certain preliminary steps had been adopted earlier, not till 1693 did a Presbytery assemble within these bounds for the dispatch of business, and that then but eight ministers convened, three from Caithness and Sutherland and five from Ross. With a copy of the Presbytery Records before us we are in a position to rectify what is here contrary to fact.

Previous to 1693, and until 1696, Ross furnished but two ministers, William Stewart, Kiltearn (Hogg had previously entered upon his reward), and Hugh Anderson, Cromarty, the above number being completed by three ministers from the Province of Moray, who acted Presbyterially with their more northern brethren when occasion called for it, a condition of things which continued until 1695. Indeed, previous to 1693, Caithness must have set up a Presbytery on its own account, for subsequent to September 26th, 1693, the date at which the Record commences, no name from that county appears there. On that date the ministers were Hugh Anderson, Cromarty, Moderator; Walter Denune, Golspie; William Mackay, Dornoch; and William Stewart, Kiltearn; with, as ruling Elders, David Ross of Balnagown, Sir Robert Gordon of Embo, and Robert Gray of Sallach. They were reinforced in 1696 by John Fraser, Alness; in 1697 by Hugh Anderson, junior, Rosemarkie; in 1698 by Hugh Duff, Fearn; in 1699 by Hector Fraser, Kincardine, and Hugh Munro in Tain. Not until 1727 did the last of the curates, Hector Mackenzie, Fodderty, permit the completion of the three Presbyteries of Ross, though the Synod of that name was constitued in March, 1707. The Synod of Glenelg was constituted in 1724, superceding the Presbytery of Kinlochewe, regarding which nothing is known. When it is stated that in almost every one of these settlements the "jure devoluto" was called into play, the tacit opposition of Ross-shire patrons to the new order of things will be at once apparent.

No reader of the Jacobite annals of that time but must have noticed how persistently the "rabblings" said to have been undergone by the Westland curates are dwelt upon, though, for obvious reasons, their writers quietly ignore the outrages committed upon the Presbyterians elsewhere, and particularly in Ross, when resuming their legal rights, outrages which, when fairly considered, put the rabblings in question completely in the shade. We shall here give but three examples out of a number, but before doing so will briefly refer to the case of David Angus, curate of Rosemarkie. This individual, whose faith in the Divine right of the Stewarts to trample all laws whatsoever under foot was so extreme that a sense of duty led him to preach open rebellion against the Revolution Government on its first setting up, which, on its part, appreciated his zeal so badly as to discharge him for preaching or otherwise exercising his ministry within the kingdom.

John Grant, called by the Presbytery "jure devoluto" to the parish of Knockbain, 28th August, 1711, reports to the Court, October 2nd, that "on Sunday after his settlement, accompanied by Muirton (a heritor), he went by boat to church, and on landing they were surrounded by about two hundred men and women who had lain in ambush, some with their faces blackened, some in women's clothes, and armed with dirks and batons. Mr Grant had his hat knocked off and torn in pieces, his head badly cut, and was dragged by his cravat till almost choked, the mob pursuing with their batons to accelerate his speed. They tore his clothes to rags, and he had his linens, which he carried in his pocket, stolen. While bleeding profusely they threw cold water upon him, carried him to the top of an eminence, and would have killed him had not some more tender hearted opposed this, and rescued him. Mr John Mackenzie, Episcopal preacher for that and the surrounding parishes, stood all the while on a rising ground feeding his eyes with these barbarities, and thereafter preached to the mob, most of whom had pieces of Mr Grant's clothes pinned to their persons as trophies of their victory." The outrage was duly reported to the Commission of Assembly, Mr Grant thereafter leaving for Edinburgh, and refusing to return until he got an act of transportability, threatening, if this was not granted "to blow up the agreement betwixt the Synod and the gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie." The threat was effectual, and that same year Grant was admitted to Achinleek .-- (Presbytery and Synod Records). To us it is a matter of infinite regret that this Secret Treaty was not "blown up" as was threatened, and its terms made public. To many in Ross the rapid withering away of "gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie" would thus have a main cause laid bare!

John Morrison, minister of Gairloch, stated at a meeting of Presbytery, 1st March, 1711, "that after two days sojourn in going to preach, he was interrupted at Kinlochewe by the tenants of Sir John Mackenzie of Coul, who laid violent hands on him and his servant, rent his clothes, made prisoners of them, and kept them three days in a cottage full of cattle and dung, without meat or bedding for the first two days, the tenants relieving one another in turn by a fresh supply every day. On the third day a short supply was allowed, but they were kept prisoners in the same place without accommodation. When the fifth day came Mr John was carried to Sir John's house, who declared no Presbyterian could be settled in any place where his influence extended unless Her Majesty's forces did it by the strong hand." years after, when soliciting an act of transportation, he stated, "that having no glebe, manse, or legal maintenance, he was obliged to take a tack of land, and that for three or four years successively his crops were destroyed by cattle, that, in the time of the rebellion, the best of his cattle were taken away by the rebels, and very lately his house was plundered of all provision to the value of 400 merks." His solicitation was granted, and he was transported to Urray.-D. and S. R.

Dr Scott, in his "Fasti," states that in 1708, and after a vacancy of four years, an attempt was made to settle Mr Daniel Bayne, Chaplain to General Murray's regiment, in Flanders, as minister of Dingwall, but that owing to Episcopal influence it could not be done. He does not seem to have been aware that, like his father, the Seaforth of that time (Earl William) was a Papist, to whom, as such, Presbyterianism would be the abomination of desolation. We learn elsewhere that when Mr Stewart, minister of Kiltearn, had ascended the Dingwall pulpit to intimate the vacancy he was attacked by a party from Brahan, armed with pistols and claymores, and had to fly for his life. In September of that year, however, a warrant was granted by the Privy Council for the trial of the rabblers. When in 1707 a previous attempt was made to fill the vacancy the Bailies of Dingwall stated that "they knew not what had become of the keys of the church, and cannot give access, and refuse to do so, under the authority of a considerable proprietor." Not therefore until 1716 was the pulpit filled "jure devoluto" by Mr John Bayne of the Tulloch family, the "considerable proprietor" aforesaid having, as a result of Sheriffmuir, gone on his travels.

That the Episcopal ascendancy was in the last degree hostile to the progress of vital piety in Ross can hardly be questioned. What was most required in superior and inferior clergy alike was the due performance of the duties of a parochial police, as they would have to answer to those political gentlemen whom we have been at some pains to describe, duty obviously incompatible with that of a Christian ministry. Of the barbarity induced in their flocks we have already given a few examples, but on this point, and finally, we are tempted to draw upon the experiences of Æneas Sage of Lochcarron, as narrated by his grandson, the eminent Donald Sage, late of Resolis. As the book is in few hands, and as showing what a living ministry can effect upon a people previously demoralised by a dead one its narrative is of exceptional interest. It will also be found interesting as exhibiting how, under the most apostolic housekeeping, our Presbyterian ministers 170 years ago did their country and their Divine Master much efficient service.

Æneas Sage was called by the Presbytery, "jure devoluto," to the parish of Lochcarron, 10th February, 1726. He found the parish in the most barbarous state, for only eighteen months previously they actually robbed of their watches and money the members of their Presbytery. Sage, it would appear, in bodily stature approached the gigantic, and his physical strength corresponded. His resolve to civilize, and, if God helped, to Christianize his rough parish rendered the latter talent of no small service to him. While a student he served in the ranks of the Reay Mackays, under the Earl of Sutherland, in the Alness affair, which preceded Sheriffmuir, but, for reasons to be explained in their proper place, the Earl and his party had to retreat over the hills to Bonar. While retreating Sage ventured to say to the prudent Lord Reay: "Pity 'tis, my lord, to see such a fine body of men, and they Highlanders, turning their backs upon their enemies, and when they have right upon their side?" "What you say, young man, may be true," the prudent nobleman replied, "but it is better to make a wise retreat that a foolish fight!" The retreat lay through Assynt, lately reft by the Mackenzies from Niel Macleod, the captor of Montrose (See Trans. G. S. Inverness, 1890) and requisitioning upon the tenantry of the enemy was proceeded with. Out of this circumstance arose the writing of the song and tune of "Caberfeigh," a coarse and bitter

philippic, wherein the Munros, who formed part of the retreating force, are unmercifully satirised. On Sage's settlement at Lochcarron he had no better quarters than a barn of a sort peculiar to the West Coast, the walls being formed of wicker work woven on standards of wood. The work cut out for him in his new appointment cannot be better shown than by the following incident. While in this wretched hovel he had been visited by some friends, but during the night the place was set on fire, a fact of which the inmates became aware by the flames and smoke. While the guests busied themselves in extinguishing the flames the minister of Lochcarron took the opportunity of making acquaintance with a parishioner. Rushing out half-dressed he saw the incendiary throwing away the torch and taking to his heels. Sage followed and soon overtook the fellow and planted his irresistible grasp on his collar. The culprit was dragged back to the barn, expecting a good beating, which he felt he deserved. Than this, however, nothing was further from Sage's intention. No violence was used. The man was set in the middle of the floor and asked whether it was he who set the place on fire, and if so, what were his motives? The man confessed that it was he who did the deed, and that his motive was to get rid of the Whig minister, "but I am now in your power," he added, "and take your revenge." "We will do that," Mr Sage replied, "but mark how it will be done." Meat and drink were now set before the man, on which his host besought the Divine blessing, and after he had eaten until satisfied, Mr Sage again addressed him. "You came here with no less evil intention than to deprive me of my life. I have, as you see, returned good for evil. Now go and tell your neighbours how the Whig ministers avenge their wrongs!" This the man failed not to do, dwelling with favourable exaggerations on the uncommon strength and swiftness of the new minister. The manse into which Mr Sage in due time removed differed little, but in length, from the crofter houses still common on the West Coast, and was thatched with heather. The long building was divided into several compartments. The first was called the "Chamber," having a fireplace in one end, a small glazed window to the south, and had a "box-bed" inserted in the partition in the other. In this apartment the heads of the family sat and took their meals, and at night it constituted the guest chamber. The next apartment formed the family dormitory, furnished with a sufficient number of beds similar

to that mentioned, and opened to a third, where the minister and his wife slept. Next came the "cearn," or servant's hall, considerably larger than the other apartments, and was at once a kitchen, working-room, and bedroom, the fire-place being in the centre of the room—on a disused millstone usually—the fuel peat, the smoke of which escaped by a gabion-shaped creel in the roof. Divided from the "cearn" by a partition was the last apartment—a cowhouse—and greatly larger than any of the others. The point to which we would direct attention here is, not that the housing of the ministers—sordid as we might now term it—conduced in any degree to an efficient pastorate, but that the dwellings of the great majority of the "taxmen," properly speaking, the middle class of the Province, were precisely similar, and yet left nothing to desire.

Mr Sage's early experiences were very disheartening. The parishioners, with the exception of two families, besides their negative opposition to his ministry frequently resorted to violence. To accentuate their dislike they would assemble on a plot of ground close to the church, and while the services were proceeding, engage in athletic sports, a species of treatment he bore for years with examplary patience. But about the year 1731 he petitioned the Presbytery for a translation, setting forth that his life was in constant danger. His petition was refused, and in due time, and under the Divine blessing on his labours the fit of despondency passed away. The vexatious opposition gradually ceased, and his faith and patience was at length crowned by finding that the Gospel he preached had dispelled much of the ignorance, prejudice, and irreligion by which he was so long dismayed. An example of his methods with the more outrageous of his parishioners may be given:—

There lived in the parish a small proprietor of extremely loose morals. Greatly to the astonishment of his congregation, Mr Sage announced his intention of holding a diet of catechising on a specified evening at that individual's house. His friends remonstrated with him, grounding their objections on the desperate character of the man, but without effect. On arriving at the house its owner met him with a menacing scowl, and demanded what brought him there. "I have come," the minister replied, "to discharge my duty to God, to your conscience, and my own." "I care nothing for either," was the reply,

"out you go or I will turn you out!" "That, perhaps, is easier said than done," Mr Sage said quietly, "but you may turn me out if you can!" This brought matters to an issue. Both were powerful men, and neither hesitated to put forth their uncommon strength. After a short but fierce struggle the minister proved victorious, and the man, prostrated on the floor, was with a stout rope bound. The people about were then called in, and the catechising proceeded. When over the head of the house was then dealt with; his delinquencies were particularised, and Mr Sage so moved his conscience that a rudimentary penitency was induced, and as a first step he agreed to enter into the bonds of lawful matrimony with the woman with whom he had been cohabiting, and ultimately became a devoted Christian. Under Sage's ministry many were converted to God, and if they did not form the majority of his congregation constituted its more influential portion. He was no less zealous in promoting the usages of civilized life, fighting against indolence and in behalf of industrious and economic habits, and when he died in his 88th year, and 48th of his ministry, he had his subordinate reward in seeing the savagery left by the Maormores, the Earls of Ross, the House of Kintail, and the previous parsons, displaced by peaceable and God-fearing habits which remain to this day. The case of Lochcarron—as it would be easy to prove—formed but one of many similar in Ross, and whatever dilettanti religionists and politicians may say to the contrary, abundantly justified on the face of it the supersession by a living Presbyterian ministry of that which the Stewarts ruined themselves, and all but ruined their country in trying to establish.

While the country was in the throes of that controversy with James II. which led to the imprisonment of the Seven Bishops and his own expulsion, a tragedy eminently illustrative of the savage manners of the upper classes took place, in March, 1686, about where Invergordon now stands, and which, on several accounts, calls for record here. The assassin was James, 2nd Lord Duffus, son-in-law of Kenneth, 3rd Lord Seaforth, and the victim, William Ross of Little Kindeace. The prosecutor was David Ross of Balnagown, in his own name as Chief and in that of the deceased's brother, then absent. The case seems to have been one of deliberate murder.

It is set forth in the following excerpt from the papers of the prosecution, "that besides John Sutherland, hagbutter (musket-bearer)

to my Lord Duffus, and William Mitchell, his footman, are his menial servants: it is offered to be proven that the said John Sutherland did act as a party to the said slaughter by pursuing the said William Ross with his gun, of full purpose to shoot him, until having come his length he saw him drop dead from his horse, so that the intention of taking the said William Ross's life was still the same with his design who did perpetrate and commit the act, and was only prevented of his malicious bloody design by having the same done to his hand; and as to the said William Mitchell, he was not only servant, as said is, but he did hinder and impede the said William Ross from making his escape out of the reach of the sword which killed him, by holding his horse by the bridle till he received his deadly wound.

The defence set up was that the homicide was committed in selfdefence, but it was so notoriously weak that Lord Duffus found it necessary to fly to England.

The ship of State which carried the fortunes of the Stewarts and their supporters having become in those days considerably water-logged the occurrence gave a good deal of anxiety to Duffus's relatives by marriage, as may be seen by the following characteristic letter—one of the curiosities of epistolary literature—from his mother-in-law, herself the virtual murderess of the Brahan Seer. It is dated 6th April, 1688: the "Kenny" referred to being her son, and the "Meg" her daughter, Lady Duffus:—

"My Dear Duffus,—We are mightily afraid of your health, and have sent this express to conjure you to be careful of yourself. As for what is done, the Lord pardon you the sin of it, but no man thinks you could have done less or that you could have borne that which you met with. I pray you have a care of yourself, and go to your business, and let us know where and to whom we shall direct your letters while you are at Court; I think to my Kenny when you are at London. You may write to Meg with every occasion to give her assurance of your health, which she shall be doubting. We all think, and so does Suddy (The Bluidy Mackenzie!) who has better skill in such affairs, that after all the provocation you met with, yet that it was in your own defence that you did, for certainly you had been killed had it not turned out as it did. So your business will not cost much trouble to get it done.

Be careful of yourself for Meg's sake and the babie's. Many a man has fallen on such an accident worse than your circumstances was, yet has been at peace with God and the world, and lived happily for all that. The Lord's peace be with you and direct and preserve you from all ill.—I am, your affectionate mother,

ISABEL SEAFORT.

Duffus' friends, aware of where their influence lay, and of the impending overturn, were anxious to have the witnesses examined by means of a commission in the North, but for precisely opposite reasons the move was vehemently opposed by David Ross of Balnagown. might be anticipated, the Court granted the Commission, and in the slender hope that were he present at the examination substantial justice would be done, Balnagown posted home with all speed, but was, unfortunately detained by a storm at the ferry of Ardersier from Monday until Wednesday. On calling on his way home at Channonry on Hugh Dallas, Commissary Clerk of Ross, he was told that the examination of witnesses was over, and that functionary reported that on hearing this "Ross looked very blue upon it!" Thus, with such friends at Court as Tarbat, and such witnesses as were easily procurable in Ross, the criminal proceedings against Lord 'Duffus came, as a matter of course, to nothing, but whether in the General Assize the homicide and the denial of justice which followed will be considered as negligible quantities may well be doubted!-Dr C. F. Mackintosh, LL.D., Historical Notes.

The "Kenny" of the foregoing letter was Kenneth, IV. Earl of Seaforth, a courtier first, but in all other respects a most insignificant person. It is nowhere categorically stated that he was a Papist, but from the fact that he had married into the Powis Family, the female head thereof being "a zealous managing Papist" and concerned in the "Meal Tub Plot," and the further fact, that on the accession of James II., whose favours were confined to religious renegades, and by whom he was made a Privy Councillor and a Companion of the Most Noble Order of the Thistle, we may be quite sure that whatever religion he had was after the Royal pattern. Seaforth followed the king into exile, returned with him to Ireland, took part in the futile siege of Derry and was, for these meritorious acts, promoted to the shadowy rank of

Marquis. It would also appear that he had engaged to join Claverhouse at the head of his Clan, but, happily for all concerned, that ruthless partizan had finished his course at Killecrankie before the muster could be completed. General Buchan in the meantime was inflicting that raid upon the western side of the Black Isle, from Ferintosh to Cromarty, on account of which the Forbeses of Culloden obtained the farming of the Excise Duties of the former district, which continued for ninety-six years, and of the incidents of which Hugh Miller gives such amusing accounts in his "Scenes and Legends of Cromarty." Buchan, thereafter, crossed over to Moray, arranging with Seaforth to join him in the proposed sack and plunder of Inverness, but before anything effectual could be done, General Mackay made one of his rapid marches and all but surprised the besiegers. Then followed a stampede. Buchan fled to the hills and Seaforth, crossing the Farrar at Beauly, began an objectless march down the Black Isle. position had become pitiable. No resource remained but submission, and accordingly he sent two of his friends to Mackay to bespeak his favourable consideration, offering to lay down his arms, giving guarantees for future good behaviour, and adding the manifest falsehood that he had been forced to appear on the side of King James, but that it never was his intention to sack Inverness. Himself a Highlander, Mackay entertained kindly feelings towards Seaforth and his Clan, but at the same time had a duty to perform. He was well aware that the Clan Mackenzie would give no trouble but at the instigation of its Chief, and that any guarantees to the contrary other than a surrender of that Chief's person were utterly valueless. While intimating this conclusion, he pledged his personal honour that on a prompt surrender Seaforth would be treated with the utmost respect, while nothing else would conduce to the preservation of his people, his family, and himself. Seaforth, by his envoys, agreed to the terms, but instead of implementing them according to programme engaged in a course of childish prevarications. Mackay became irritated, and proceeded to extremities. The three Dutch regiments quartered at Aberdeen he ordered North, occupied Brahan Castle with a garrison, and instructed the northern loyal clans to assemble 1000 of their men under Major Wishart, an officer experienced in Highland warfare, with the view of occupying the Lochcarron and Kintail districts. These movements filled Seaforth with alarm,

and he, finding it to be the more prudent course, at length surrendered, was first confined in the Castle of Inverness, and subsequently sent to that of Edinburgh. Liberated from there on conditions which he did not implement he was, in May, 1690, confined for the second time in the Castle of Inverness, from whence he was finally liberated under suitable securities. During his remaining years he appears to have lived in France, where he died in 1701. As might have been expected from his parentage and his upbringing in the house of his grandmother, his successor, William, V. Earl, was a professed Papist, surely an incongruous head for a Province where Popery was as little practiced as Thuggee!

Those of our readers who have made the romantic history of Scotland during this period their study, do not require to be told that while the exiled Stewarts constituted the bogic men of the successive Governments the Highland Clans—as the more probable instruments for their reinstallation—existed for the former as a continual menace, and for the latter as a force to be cajoled and conciliated by every conceivable means. It is, however, certain that that network of intrigue of which much of Scotland north of the Forth was the scene, was held better in hand by the exiled Court than by that of St James, as the fiasco of the '15, about to be referred to, abundantly shows. During the preliminary stages, so far as Ross was concerned, the Earl of Cromarty rather than the Earl of Seaforth appears to have been the leading agent.

With the exception of that course of intrigue John, second Earl of Cromarty, cannot be said to have contributed much of either good or bad to the History of Scotland. By making certain unguarded expressions while Master of Tarbat he rendered himself an object of suspicion to General Mackay, was arrested, brought to Inverness, and placed under the surveillance of his neighbour, Balnagown, then Military Governor of that place. By an Act of Privy Council he was, in December, set at liberty on his parole of honour. He had also the misfortune to be concerned in the death of Eliza Poiret, a French refugee, for the particulars of which the reader is referred to the second volume of Chambers' Domestic Annals of Scotland. He had also the misfortune to be a much-married man. His first wife was of that type of person with which our Divorce Courts have made us familiar. After all but

ruining him by her extravagance, while dishonouring him by her unfaithfulness, she was at last got rid of and done with.

The whole of Earl John's subsequent performances may, with great advantage to the reader's patience, be passed over, except a letter which he wrote to his aged, if not venerable, father in the year 1704. In the dearth of information regarding party politics and the social amenities of the period, the light it unconsciously throws upon both will be considered of much value. The reader will not fail to notice the "caption for 6000 or 7000 merks" held in terrorum over Sir Robert Munro (Fouls), and may be somewhat curious as to its genesis. To us—as previously hinted—that sum represented the fines levied during the Stewart dispensation upon that gentleman's excellent father and his relations, and held, with much else, by Tarbat for the interest accruing and exigencies like the present. We give the letter in the original spelling, furnishing an additional proof that then our great men "wrote like washerwomen":—

My Lord,—Your orders anent the elections of the shyre of Ross was so long a coming that, hade I not taken measors uich, to my great satisfaction, I fynd assuerable to uhat your Lordship uas pleased to urit both to myself and your friends in this place, the Uhige partie would uithout dout have carried therdesign, which was to have the Lairds of Bellangoun and Fouls chosen to represent the shyre of Ross in the inshuing Parliament; so that your interest (uich by far is the greatest, notwithstanding of Fouls and Bellnagoun joineing thers) hade signefyed nothing in the matter of the elections of Ross, either in shyre or broughs, only for not uriting in time to your friends, uich your Lordship often blames me and others of your relations for-I mean, not uriting, uich in time coming, I purpose to amend. Catbo, uho brought your letters, uas more then three neek by the road. I insist the longer on this that your Lordship uill be pleased, uhen anie such public affair is to be gone about to send ane express, for leltters letters of concern are never to be trusted to gentlemen. Nou thaat all things ar according to your Lordship's desair, I most confess that I have some satisfaction that ane in my life I have occasion to challenge your neglect of uriting, for I doubt if I'l ever have it again. (I beg your Lordship's pardon for this freedom). Hou soon I hade your letter I acquainted all the barons

of Uest Ross to meet at Dinguall, which they did on Thursday before the elections. At our former meeting it uas unanimously agreed ucon that, uhen your orders should come, uich all of them expected (I mean of Uest Ross), that Fouls should be called to our pryvat consultation, uich accordingly uas done. This uas to persuad Fouls not to join uith Bellnagoun against the Mackenzies, uho uer alluays his good neighbours and freinds, uich ue douted not but he and his famely uer sencesible of, particoularly when he and his father did compeat with Bellnagoun in the elections for the last Parliament, the Mackenzies still preferrd Fouls; and nou that they resolued to have tuo of ther famely (viz., Mackenzies), to represent the Barons of the shyre in this Parliament, they douted not of Fouls' hearty concurance in ther so just and reasonable design against Bellnagoun, ar anie other uho uould opose them. And this was but what they looked for from Fouls and his famely as just returns for ther former acts of frienship; this I had commission to tell Fouls from all the Barons of Uest Ross. His ansuer uas that all his famely uer verie sencesible of the Mackenzies frienship in generall, and the Viscount of Tarbat in particular; but in this affair of the elections he was sorrie he could not go allongst them in choising tuo of ther famely, but he was satesfyed for on, wich was Scatuall, as an honest man and my Lord Tarbat's near cousin. They thanked him for his offer, but told him roundly that he was neither just nor kynd, and that after this he nor anie called Munro should have their friendship as formerly, farder than comon sivility oblidg them to. Fouls uas much surprised at this, and prenteded to excuse himselfe upon the account of conscience, and a great deal of other Uhigish cant, uich is not uortn troubleing your Lordship with at this time. (!) At last poor Fouls fell in tears, uich made all our barbarous muntaniers lauch, particularly Fairburn, uho bid Fouls go home to his mother and his ministers, which sett both him and Bellnagoun better then to be members of Parliament. I really think if poor Fouls uer not imposed upon by the light-headed ministers, he would nothave acted as he did. But when L found that Fouls with the other Munrs, particularly Cullrain, who whon he received your letter, promised upon honour to be for anie tuo I pleased, hade joined uith Bellnagoun, I sent Coull and Ridcastell to Fouls to tell him from me that seeing he hade joined uith Bellnagoun against your Lordship and his other best friends and neighbours to the great prejudice

of his famely, I behouved to be excused if I did not act as formerly; for since reason and friendship couls not prevail uith Fouls, perhaps some other thing would, which was, if he pretended to appear at Tain the day of election I would give him the Queen's hous to keep, for I hade a caption then in my pocket readie, with messenger in the nixt room, but, on the consideration that Fouls came there on my call, he should go home as freely as he came afield. Both his cousins german told him that it was needless for him to make anie application to me for I was justly offended uith him for joineing uith Bellnagoun. The sum conteaned in the captione was six or seven thousand merks Scots. The sum uas no great, vet it uas too much for the laird and his clan to pay on soshort an advertisement, so the laird was necessitate to stay at home, uith great resentment against me. All his friends joined with Bellnagoun against your friends, and uhen Fouls hade been uith them at the election, matters would not have gone as they are. And thisI know before the day of election, for at the meeting I hade uith our friends uich uas at Channonrie, we uighted the interests of all the famelys in Ross and Cromarty. Your Lordship's interest uas put in balance uith Bellnagoun and Fouls (for by that time we hade certain information of those tuo mightie chiftens union, uich, perhaps, may be a forerunner of that of the tuo kingdoms) both the clans to the amazement of the lookers on, did not move the scale your interest uas in; upon uich Killravock uas put in uith the other two lairds which manie thought uould at least make the balance equall. On the contrarie it was made lighter. This occationed the calling for the Records (keeped by Hugh Dallas). It was found by the last uighting that Bellnagoun alone uighted more than all three does now. This hes set all the polliticians, of uich ther's no small number in Ros, a uouork to fynd out the cause that one man's interest should dounueight three chifed of clans. I dout not this will be knowen about the tim of the Parliament sitting. Kilravock give the same reasons for joineing Bellnagoun that Fouls did. Bellnagoun is mightly offended at Piltoun (Hilton?) and John Froster for joining with your friends; so is Fouls at Robertson of Kindale (Kindeace?) Thes three joined with your friends, for uich they deserve rpaticular thanks. I insisted the longer on this because of your command to be particoularly informed of everie on. For uhat passed at the elections, as Bellnagoun's protestation and other rediculous stuff,

Catbo's letter heruith uil inform your Lordship particoularly. God Allmightie preserve you in your jurnie, and send you safe back to your country for the satisfaction of your poor famely and friends, and in particular to, my Lord, your obedient son,

JOHN TARBAT.

The reader will have noticed in the foregoing that as the county representative in the last Parliament the Laird of Fowlis had the suffrages of the Mackenzies, while for that of the ensuing they resolved to send there two of their own name—a piece of electioneering activity of which he may be curious to know the cause. It will be sufficient to say that as long as King William lived it mattered little how the Scottish Parliament was manned, but the accession of Queen Anne, in 1702, so opened up the question of the succession and revived the hopes of the Court of St Germains, that it became a matter of vital importance to have as many Jacobites as possible returned to Parliament. Hence Tarbat's orders, to which his son and the heads of the Mackenzies gave so hearty an obedience.

But the evil genius of the Stewarts, within the next year, reduced those hopes to water, and the question of the hour then became the Union of the two Kingdoms. Tarbat, whose judgment, when not biased by self-interest and loyalty reduced to superstition, was of the sure-footed kind, wrote and published much in favour of that measure, while the confidence reposed in him by the Mackenzies induced them also to give it their support. Singular to say, whether from well-grounded distrust in Tarbat or not, the Munros and Rosses were opponents of the Union, the singularity being intensified by the fact that the Mackenzies were Jacobites to a man, while the latter were Exclusionists, and loyal to the core.

The aforesaid divergence on the Union question became marked on the occasion of the election of a gentleman to represent the county for the first time in the British Parliament. The person chosen—there was no contest—was Hugh Rose, younger of Kilravock; his father being at that period the highly-respected Sheriff of the shire. The Ross Commission by the Barons of the shire, "convened for the election of a knight girt with a sword, perfect and discreet, to represent us in the said Parliament," was executed at Fortrose, then the returning burgh of

the said county, on the 26th June, 1708, and is subscribed by a large number of the Mackenzies, there being present seven persons only of the names of Rose, Robertson, Macleod, Fraser, Macintosh, Bayne, and Forrester, but not one Munro or Ross! The editor of the Kilravock Papers suggests that the absence of the Munros might have arisen from certain differences between them and the Caberfeighs, which occurred during the previous election, and which a Royal Commission had to come North to adjust.

CHAPTER XIX.

QUEEN ANNE, the last Stewart who reigned in Britain, died 1st August, 1704, and it is allowed that the event took place at the most critical period which the Empire experienced since 1688, but, by a wise provision of the Revolution Settlement, "The Wee German Lairdie" of the satirical Jacobite ballads—King George I.—quietly ascended the vacant throne.

So far as personal worth was concerned there was little to choose between Brandy Nan and the German boor, but a time had arrived when the personal factor, as exercised by the Sovereign, though important in the social life of the nation, was fast sinking to a neutral position so far as its effect on our liberties were concerned.

The behaviour of the great George on his arrival disappointed many of the leading politicians, and what was worse, mortified many more, the Earl of Mar holding a conspicuous place among the latter. As a result he, from being a Whig, became an extreme Tory, forthwith opened negotiations with the king over the water, and at once obtained that potent monarch's forgiveness and favour.

The Great Hunt in Mar forest followed, with Sheriffmuir as its corollary; the latter a battle in which it might be truly said that never since Mars became a god was a gallant army entrusted to more incapable hands.

How or when Mar opened negotiations with William, Earl of Seaforth, we know not, but it is certain that the latter nobleman was one of his honoured guests during the Historic Hunt, and that great hopes were entertained of his co-operation during the impending campaign. How these hopes were realised we shall presently see; yet though Sheriffmuir served to ruin both noblemen, it is to Seaforth's important

campaign in Ross itself—where precious time was so wasted as virtually to decide the contest before it began—that we desire to draw the reader's attention, more especially as an intelligible account thereof still seems to be called for. Seaforth's own despatch to Mar (given in the appendix) from the Seaforth Papers, with that of the Earl of Sutherland, in the handsome Book of Sutherland, form our chief materials; while an intimate personal knowledge of the locality which formed its scene will, it is hoped, aid towards putting these materials, with others less important, to profitable use.

It would appear from the first-mentioned documents, and notwith-standing that the heads of the Clan Mackenzie—if we except the laird of Kilcoy—were Jacobites to a man, and Seaforth's womankind, with himself, being of the same religion as the Pretender, both chieftains and women were averse to the proposed enterprise. A strong, yet respectful remonstrance against it, because of the absence of the "king," was accordingly drawn up and presented by these heads, mother and wife giving their concurrence (see appendix), yet the infatuated nobleman—through priestly influence it would seem—resolved to have his way, and the twenty companies into which the Clan were usually organised, were ordered to assemble somewhere (Inchrorie, it would appear), in the neighbourhood of Dingwall. Previous, however, to recounting the operations which followed, a few words explanatory of the general military situation will be in order.

It was arranged during the Historical Hunt that the various Clans after mustering on 6th September, would at once converge on the standard to be raised on the Braes of Mar, and thence march into England, and the muster was fairly well carried out by the western and central clans, but much procrastination was exhibited by the Clan Mackenzie and by the insular Macdonalds, Macleods and Mackinnons who were to be associated with them. It is extremely doubtful whether by the second week in September there were more than 1000 men in Seaforth's camp, and urgent messages from Mar in no degree helped to mend matters.

At the outset the chances were decidedly in favour of the Jacobite cause. Though a net-work of communications connected at that period every Jacobite family in Scotland with each other and the Court of St Germains, the party, though much less so than the Government, were

to a great extent unprepared for the Earl of Mar's adventure; notwithstanding, the better chance of the latter lay in the fact that the Highlanders who were to form the fighting line were the most mobile partizans in the world, and would certainly, in the hands of a competent general, make short work of the few regulars then in Britain, hampered as these were by antiquated methods and comatose generals. But that leading factor in successful warfare was awanting; instead of Montrose, or Dundee, with their organising faculty and lion-spring at the head of the movement, there was Mar, while Seaforth, who was expected to appear at the rendezvous with a large proportion of the force on 6th September, did not till 2nd November, and, besides, was a mere counterpart of Mar, with the element of personal courage left out!

Mar and his responsibilities does not concern us, but if praise or blame is to be correctly apportioned to his Ross-shire confederate, the accurate dating of his various movements is indispensable, for in view of the national unpreparedness it should not be forgotten that the chances of overturning the Hanoverian Government lay in winning a race against time, and in the degree in which this elemental fact was ignored or forgotten must those concerned be held accountable for the subsequent disaster.

On the 15th of September, however, stout old Brigadier Macintosh of Borlum, an officer of real talent and experience, who ought to have supreme command, aware that the few troops in Inverness formed a standing menace to the Pretender's friends in the North and West, promptly seized that place, and forthwith demanded of Seaforth a suitable garrison, so as to set himself and his people free to join the main body. It would appear that tidings of the seizure had meantime reached Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, who with equal promptitude got his people together for the purpose of aiding the Royalists of Moray towards recovering Inverness to the Government, a movement, however, which produced an angry warning from Seaforth to the effect that he had better remain where he was, unless he intended to join King James' forces.

Sir Robert, though a determined Royalist, was too prudent a man to try conclusions with an angry neighbour astride of the road with triple his force, but aware of the interests at stake, and having his heart in the work, he quietly crossed the firth at the head of a strong detach-



"THE STRONG LINE OF THE ALNESS."



ment, accompanied, as chaplain, by Mr Mackilligen, Alness—son of our Fodderty friend—and joined the fast assembling Royal Army under the Duke of Argyle. The remainder of his people he left to wait contingencies under the command of his relative, the experienced Colonel Munro of Lemlair.

On the 16th of September Seaforth reviewed his following, and selecting between 400 and 500 men, he proceeded with them to Inverness, established them as a garrison in that important centre, and then returned to Dingwall, leaving his cousin, Sir John Mackenzie of Coul, in command.

(Sir John appears to have been a capable gentleman, was moreover a zealous Jacobite, high in favour with the exiled Court, and one of whom great things were expected. Shortly before this he received as a token of the Pretender's regard a superb gold ring, set with his cameo likeness, and bearing an inscription stating that it was a "gift from King James III. to his faithful subject, Sir John Mackenzie," and, no doubt, still forms a valued heirloom of the family).

For the next three weeks Seaforth continued jubitating in his camp, but on the 8th of October, having been joined by the belated islesmen, he took the field, and the immediate cause thereof calls for narration.

On hearing of the erection of the Pretender's standard on the Braes of Mar, the Government and many of its friends were, for a brief space, struck dumb, but, happily, constitutional rule had clear-headed and stout-hearted friends both south and north, and in particular, the Duke of Argyle. With respect to the part played by that eminent nobleman at this crisis we beg to refer the reader to any good Scottish History, but regarding that allotted to the Earl of Sutherland in the north, though second only in importance, the facts are not so accessible, and will, therefore, call for narration here.

That gentleman, after consultation with the Government, who appointed him supreme commander of all their forces in the north, came home by sea, arrived at Dunrobin towards the end of September, and forthwith assembled such of his people as lived near the coast, amounting to about 300 men, and with these he crossed both ferries, and on the 5th of October drew up on the strong line of the Alness, where he was soon after joined by the rest of his followers; the Mackays, under Lord Reay and Mackay of Scourie; the Rosses under Braelangwell; the

Munros under Lemlair, together with such followers as Culrain, Newmore, and Culcairn had at their disposal, in all amounting to about 1200 good men, though in the matter of arms there was great room for improvement. The Earl also took care to dig entrenchments along the line, and a battery on his exposed left flank he armed with six small guns procured, with a suitable supply of ammunition and gunners to serve them, from a ship of war in Cromarty Roads.

Having taken these precautions as against a force operating by the existing road and the coast, the Earl was justified in concluding that the position was impregnable, and that Seaforth would not dare to march south with such a force in observation within a day's march of his residence.

The view taken—so far as we are aware—by all the historians is, that these tactics of the Earl are to be credited with Seaforth's fatal delay in joining the Jacobite army, thus occasioning its subsequent defeat, but, as the facts will serve to show, that conclusion is wide of the mark.

Manifestly there was at least one military head in Seaforth's contingent —Lord Duffus probably—to whom it was clear not only that the dispersion of the Alness array was an indispensable preliminary to a safe march south, but that also the position occupied by it could not with prudence be attacked in front. About the 7th October, however, Sir Donald Macdonald arrived at Inchrorie with 900 Macdonalds, Macleods and Mackinnons, and 200 Lewismen. Having thus an overwhelming force at command a turning movement was forthwith resolved upon, which, as we shall see, was crowned with complete success.

Accordingly, on the 9th October Seaforth put his command—variously estimated at 3000 and 4000 men—in motion, crossed the place about where Jarl Thorfinn must have done so seven hundred years before, ascended the heights of Fodderty and Brae, descended into Strath-Skiak, crossed the little stream, quartering his force in the Township of Clare, then, and until within the last fifty years, a prosperous district in possession of the Fowlis Family. This was considered the country of an enemy and would have suffered military execution correspondingly. On the 10th they traversed Swordale, crossed the Aultgraad above the abyss, ascended Glenglass, traversed the defile separating Cnoc Gille Bhroanach from Chaslan, and descended into the

Township of Boath, where, by fording the Alness, marching thence five or six miles via Strathrusdale and Ardross, they had it in their power by a vigorous onset not only to turn the Royalist position inside out but to cut off the Earl of Sutherland's retreat to Bonar. It was well for the Hanoverian Government that the contriver of this strategic feat was not in supreme command of the Jacobite forces!

There occurred, however, no vigorous onset for reasons which will presently appear, and as became a prudent commander the Earl did not hesitate as to the course to be pursued. He broke up his camp—its situation is to this day termed 'N Craill, or the encampment—dispatched his guns and gunners by the shortest way to the ship of war, and while taking his entire force with him to Sutherland met with no obstruction from the enemy. The retreat merely involved an additional day's march when the time for action arrived.

In the previous chapter, when writing of Mr Sage, Lochcarron, we gave his view regarding this retreat, and now we subjoin those of the Earl of Sutherland himself:—

"We accordingly," he writes, "retreated in very good order to the summit of a hill (Knocknavie) from the summit of which we saw the enemy making a halt within a mile of us. About the same time several small ships came into the Road of Cromarty, which the enemy believed to be a reinforcement of regular troops for us, which our march confirmed them in, so that they did not advance further till we made a very safe retreat over the Bonar River, bringing all the boats back with us. On the 13th the rebels instead of invading Sutherlandshire, did nothing but plunder the goods and estate of Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, and other gentlemen of that name, and also that of Sir William Gordon (Invergordon) to whom they showed a good deal of malice, leaving nothing undestroyed upon his lands. In the meantime Lord Duffus marched into Tain with 400 or 500 of the Mackenzies, Chisholms, and Macdonalds, and proclaimed the Pretender there, Seaforth and the main body being at hand as a support."*

^{*}A recent writer, Mr Murray Rose, founding upon certain camp gossip which Seaforth records in his despatch, takes occasion, and quite gratuitously we think, to throw contempt upon the valiant Mackays. We have seen this act attributed to a paltry feud, alleged to have existed between certain forbears of the writer and the Reay Family, but it is pitiful at this date to see such a thing giving an edge to gossip under pretence of illustrating provincial annals.

This flank march may be safely considered the one sane military operation of the '15, while but one life was lost, and that on the first day's march while Seaforth was leading his people down Strath-Skiak.

The reader of a sanguinary turn will be disappointed on finding that the foregoing statment of facts reduces the gory Clan History to water, while the reader aflame with Jacobite zeal will feel it well to be angry when told that after the dispersion of the Hanoverian forces instead of at once marching towards Mar's army Seaforth continued to play the Vice-Roy in North Ross, receiving submissions, and subjecting it to military execution for the next three weeks. Surely, we may add, nothing could more completely indicate his utter unfitness for the position he had assumed.

Among the sufferers by Seaforth's occupation of Ferrindonald was the wife and family of Mr Daniel Mackilligen, minister of Alness. In resentment for Mr Mackilligen acting as chaplain with the Fowlis detachment, the Presbyterial Library of Dingwall, two other parochial libraries of which he had charge, and his own manuscripts, books, moveables, and body clothes to the value of 400 merks were taken away or destroyed. The manse itself was so delapidated by the inroad that the minister's family could not live there until it was repaired in the March following. Mr Mackilligen was probably clerk of Presbytery, which would account for the presence in the manse of the Presbyterial Library.

Part of that time was also wasted in an attempt to occupy, in the interests of the Pretender, the town of Cromarty, and where the Mackenzies met with rather a rough rebuff from a sloop of war commanded by Captain Stewart, which had been sent north on a cruise and with the view of watching over the Royal interests. From that ship, it would also appear, the cannon was procured for the Alness entrenchments. On a day during the latter half of October, and while the man-of-war was temporarily absent, a strong party of the Mackenzies entered the town of Cromarty from the southward, which place, as we learn from Hugh Miller, the adult males prudently left in charge of their womankind, they themselves seeking safety in the hill; but they (the Mackenzies) had barely begun the work of plunder when the "Royal Anne" raced up the Firth like "an angry giant," and Stewart, taking in the situation, instantly proceeded to fire on the Highlanders from his

great guns. They speedily decamped, and the female garrison, not a pin the worse, was duly relieved by their lords and masters!

Seaforth with his people, amounting to about 2000 all told, passed Blair Castle on the 1st November, a dimunition of force which shows that desertion must have amounted to well-night fifty per cent., and accentuating for us the unpopularity of the whole enterprise. He next day joined Mar at Perth, and from that day to the 13th, when the battle of Sheriffmuir was fought, his contingent served to swell the insurgent army.

Many attempts have been made to describe this important but singular battle, in all cases with but equivocal success, though Scott's account may be reckoned the most intelligible. It is described in the ballad as well as anywhere:—

" A battle there was which I saw a man And we ran, and they ran, and we ran, And they ran awa' man."

As everybody knows the advantage lay with the forces of the Government, though the generalship, and even the fighting, left room for improvement.

It is confidently affirmed and as confidently denied that the "Clan Canzie" distinguished themselves at Sheriffmuir; our belief is that they behaved quite as well as their comrades; but it is certain that their leader, Lord Seaforth, by his pusillanimity covered himself with disgrace. He had the vanity to embody and mount a body guard of forty men, and with these he remained at a safe distance during the crisis of the battle. Lord Duffus, who, it would appear, acted as his adjutantgeneral, tried hard and in vain to get him to dismount and encourage his people by his presence at their head, and when it became plain that the battle was lost he and Huntly-if Scott is to be believed-left their respective followers to their fate and were the first fugitives of any rank to announce the disaster in Perth. Subsequently Seaforth got his people together with the view of relieving Inverness, but found himself opposed by a force with which it was manifestly vain to contend, for his march south had permitted of combined operations on the part of the Earl of Sutherland and his loyal confederates "benorth Kessock" with

the Royalists of Moray to the south, and to which the disaster of Sheriffmuir gave irresistable momentum.

In these operations a conspicuous position was assumed by that unscrupulous vagabond, Simon Fraser of Lovat; the fact, and how he got there at all, must now with all brevity be accounted for.

Simon had been so frequently found out by Jacobites and Hanoverians alike, that ultimately neither would have his services at any price, and in fact before this, and while in France, he was shadowed by the police as a public enemy. Whatever principles he had were of a Jacobite hue, but at this juncture he resolved to show his associates of that cult that their policy of suspicion entailed awkward results, for it so happened that the Clan Fraser, of which he was the undoubted Chief, had during these days sent one of their number all the way to France to ascertain from his own mouth on which side in the present quarrel he would have them engage. Simon acted with promptitude. In company with the envoy he found his way to London and lurked a few days in imminent danger of apprehension. Having ascertained that the Earl of Sutherland was about to set out for the North as commander-in-chief for the Government, he ventured to call upon that nobleman, detailed his causes of resentment, and volunteered to support the Government at the head of his Clan. Simon's baseness had become proverbial, but the Earl felt that in the present exigency he might be able to do the country some service, and accordingly became his surety to Lord Townshend, the Secretary of State, by whom he was furnished with a safe-conduct, and by that means regained the North. Nor, it must be owned, was he slow in implementing his engagements. He called upon such of the Clan as had remained at home to join him in defence of the Government, and peremptorily ordered those who, under Mackenzie of Fraserdale, had joined the Insurgent army, to return home, which, to Mar's great mortification, they promptly did.

Meanwhile the Castle of Inverness was held for the Pretender by the laird of Coul, forming a check upon all communications by land between Ross and Moray to the friends of the Government, while at the same time affording a free passage north and south to the enemy. The thing became unendurable. From the first, Hugh, XV. Laird of Kilravock, had armed 200 of his tenants, and helped much to preserve the peace in that part of the country. His Castle of Kilravock formed

a sanctuary to the people of the district for miles round, and such was its reputation for defensive appliances that the Highlanders left it severely alone, while they attacked every other mansion-house on their way south. By the end of October Kilravock, Culloden, and Simon Fraser-who by that time arrived-held a Council of War with the view of determining what steps were to be taken towards the capture of the town and Castle of Inverness. Kilravock undertook to hem in the garrison on the south side, and Simon Fraser the like duty with a party of the Frasers on the north. This blockade would soon have forced the enemy to surrender, but Arthur Rose, Kilravock's brother, led away by his impatient spirit was, when attempting a surprise, killed. The death of his brother so exasperated Kilravock that he sent a message to the Magistrates of the town and to Sir John Mackenzie, requiring them at once to surrender town and Castle on pain of having both laid in ashes. Knowing him to be a man of his word all the boats which they could lay their hands on were collected, and under cover of darkness on the 13th November the garrison passed down the river and crossed over to Ross. Kilravock entered the town in the morning, and was afterwards reinforced by a party of the Grants and the Frasers who had been in Mar's army.—(The Kilravock Papers.)

The Earl of Sutherland had reassembled his forces in the first weeks of November, and by the middle of the month reached Dingwall, and without paying a visit to Brahan-a courtesy which for obvious reasons he found it expedient to omit—he ferried his people across the Conon, and joined the Frasers in the neighbourhood of Beauly. Leaving his command there he rode to Inverness to confer with the valiant Kilravock and his friends. Meantime the Mackenzies, etc., had in detachments and by devious ways taken the road homewards, though Seaforth still remained a guest in Castle Dounie awaiting events. would appear that at the Council of War held at Inverness a retributive invasion of the Seaforth countries had been resolved upon, and by the 27th December the due preparations had been completed, General Wightman holding the supreme command. Personally the Earl of Sutherland, who represented the Government in the North, had no wish to drive a brother nobleman and neighbour to extremities, and in the forlorn hope that the Cabinet might incline to mercy, advised the Countess Frances (Dowager), by a trusty messenger, to visit Castle Downie, and prevail upon Seaforth, her son, to make overtures of submission. This the lady did and was successful, as the following though somewhat equivocal engagement under the hand of Seaforth shows—albeit that it was written at Brahan three days afterwards. His fatuity in assuming on this ocacsion the Jacobite title of Marquis was clearly of a piece with his previous conduct:—

"Wee, Wiliam, Marquis of Seafort, doe promise upon honour to Simon Lord Lovat, commanding His Majesty's forces near Inverness, to disperse and dissipate my men immediately, and to set at liberty the gentlemen of the name of Munro detained by my orders, and not to take arms, or appear against His Majesty King George, or his Government, till the return of the Earl of Sutherland's express from Court; providing that neither I, nor my friends, country, or people be molested or troubled till the said return come from Court. Given at Brahan this 30th of December.

(Signed) SEAFORTH."

Soon after the Countess had arrived at the Castle Lord Simon made his appearance, and in his role of ruffian as well as rogue, volunteered the comforting assurance that unless her son forthwith submitted he (Simon) would attack his territories with so overwhelming a force that every rebel Mackenzie there would be wiped off the face of the earth. To this the spirited dame responded with a contemptuous laugh, and the Earl of Sutherland soon after making his appearance Lovat was reduced to silence. In response to her appeal the Earl undertook to plead her son's cause with the Government, and at once wrote an earnest missive to that effect. The Countess, on her part, undertook to disperse the Clan, and deliver up the arms and prisoners then in Brahan.

It was soon seen that pardon at that stage was hopeless, and whether on account of that or not the Countess showed great remissness in implementing her agreement. In fact the country of the Mackenzies had to be invaded after all, and during the first three months of 1716 Wightman and his dubious ally, Lovat, had their hands full of work. It would also appear that strong detachments of the Clan still held together, though the reason why is far from being apparent. Thus on the 20th March one of these was discovered occupying the summit of

Tor-Achilty, and after a brisk attack were dispersed, a few prisoners being taken, among whom were the Earl of Cromartie and Fraser the Laird of Inchcoulter (Balconie).

When taking possession of Brahan Castle Wightman thought proper to confiscate the horses and vehicles, and in consequence the Countess was—she gave out—unable to proceed to London to intercede with the king for her son. A rather animated correspondence ensued in consequence between her ladyship and that officer's superior, General Cadogan, in which, and in the capacity of intercessor, Simon, Lord Lovat, entered an appearance. As will be seen from Lovat's characteristic letter, and her ladyship's reply, here subjoined, she tried to mend the situation by equivocation. Manifestly Seaforth's false move led many beside himself into trouble.

LOVAT TO COUNTESS OF SEAFORTH.

"Madam,-I just spoke now to General Cadogan, who told me plainly that he could not, nor would not, promise anything for my lord, your son, further than receive him on mercy and send him prisoner south, and if the Bill of Attainder be past, as they say it is, it is not in the king's power to save him. This is all I can say on that melancholy head. The General, being informed that my Lord Seaforth's people have not as yet taken in their arms, was going to order a thousand men to-morrow to put all the country in flames, but I begged of his Ex. to give some days to acquaint the people, and that I was sure they would come in, so his Ex. was so good as delay the march of the troops till Saturday next. A thousand men will that day march to Brahan and Coul, and if the arms of all my lord Seaforth's country do not come in to Brahan and Coul before Saturday night they may expect that the next day the troops will begin to destroy all, and march through all my lord Seaforth's country to the Isle of Skye, and ships will be sent to the Lewis to destroy it. So your ladyship should send off expresses immediately to all the Highlands that the people may come and give up their arms to save themselves from being burnt. It's a very great favour that the troops do not march to-morrow; so your ladyship should profit of it to save the people and the estate, which your ladyship says is your own. I shall always be proud for an occasion in which I can have power myself to let your ladyship know how much I am, with

true friendship and a great respect, madam, your ladyship's most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed) LOVAT."

"Inverness, 8th of April, 1716."

"I send you this express at Kincraig, and the E. of Cromartie, who was present when I spoke to the General, is to go to Brahan to advise your ladyship. The General likewise bids me give his service to your ladyship, and to tell you that if my lady, your daughter, designs to go south it must be very soon. The General desires me to have your ladyship's answer to all this once this night. I give my duty to my Lady Seafort, and my service to good Mr Douglas, that is so good to your ladyship. If I can I will wait on your ladyship before I go for London, which will be this week."

LADY SEAFORTH TO LORD LOVAT.

"9th April, 1716.

"My.Lord,—I'm infinitely obliged to your Lordship for the concern youre pleased to have in saving my people and lands. I have now ordered expresses to all the parishes, that the people may with all speed deliver their arms, and those in the neighbourhood are given up already. If I had a conveyance my daughter would surely go off this week. I intreat, therefore, your Lordship to speak again to General Cadogan, whose civility I shall never be able sufficiently to acknowledge. I am with a true—sense of your friendship my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged humble servant.

"The Earl of Cromarty was at Coul at night, but is expected here this forenoon, and then your Lordship shall be further informed if needful."

GENERAL CADOGAN TO THE COUNTESS OF SEAFORTH.

"Inverness, the 10th April, 1716.

"Madam,—I received the honour of your Ladyship's letter of the 9th instant, and am very sorry it was not in my power to get your Ladyship's coach and horses restored. As for the two gentlemen that I left out of the passport, there are so many informations given against them by all the well-affected people in the country, that so far from granting

them a pass, were it not in consideration and regard to your Ladyship, I should immediately order them to be made prisoners. But if your Ladyship pleases to name any two gentlemen who have not been in arms, I shall be ready to consent to their waiting on my Lady Seaforth on her journey to Edinburgh. I hope all your ladyship's tenants will be so much friends to themselves as to forthwith bring in their arms, and thereby prevent their being forced to do it by military execution. I beg your Ladyship to believe I shall always be very glad to show the profound respect with which I have the honour to be, Madam, your Ladyship's most obedient and most humble servant,

WILLIAM CADOGAN."

"I send here enclosed to your Ladyship a protection: for your house and estate of Brahan."

"William Cadogan, Esq., Lieut.-General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in North Britain. All officers and soldiers of His Majesty's army in North Britain are hereby required not to commit any disorder, nor to take any goods, cattle, or corn in the house or on the estate of Brahan, or any other belonging to the Right Honourable the Countess Dowager of Seafort.

WILLIAM CADOGAN."

"Given at Inverness, 10th April, 1716."

LADY SEAFORTH TO GENERAL CADOGAN.

"Sir,—That I should be still troubling a gentleman of so much honour and known civility is to myself very mortifying, but the dayly distress I meet with, notwithstanding the protection your Excellency was pleased to send me, makes me the most uneasy person in the world.

"Yesterday Colonel Brooks came hither with, I think, 400 men, besides the garrison, and Colonel Munro's Independent Company, who, I hear, are to quarter at Brahan till all the Highlanders give up their arms. It's surely hard that I, who have been so long a widow, should, without any offence given to King or Government, be the only woman in Britain so much harassed. The arms might be delivered up at Inverness as well as here; for my diligence in sending to my tenants reiterated positive orders has appeared to the officers of this house by the delivering up of all the arms within a dozen miles of this, and by

letters promising the rest at a further distance to be delivered up with all speed possible.

"I got not last year £50 of £1000, which is my joynture; and the tenants and country are now so impoverished that I can expect nothing from them. Nay, I can scarce get bread to my family and the few officers that are with me.

"This being my condition, I must beg of your Excellency with all earnestness speedily to compassionate the same, which will be a true act of generosity, and the greatest favour you can honour one who is, with the highest esteem of your goodness and with the utmost respect, sir, your Excellency's ever obliged but most afflicted servant,

F. SEAFORT."

"Brahan, 14th of April, 1716."

GENERAL CADOGAN TO COUNTESS SEAFORTH.

"Inverness, 20th April, 1716.

"Madam,—I received last night the honour of your Ladyship's letter of the 19th inst., and am very sorry to find by the accounts sent me by Coll. Brooke that not the tenth part of the arms of my Lord Seafort's people are yet brought in. The great desire I have to do your Ladyship all the service I can, obliges me to acquaint you that this trifling and amusing the Government will be more resented at London than open resistance, and will not leave it in my power to serve your country any longer. I shall, however, in your Ladyship's consideration, order the detachment to halt till Tuesday next, and if by that time all the arms are not delivered up, I shall be under the necessity of ordering the troops to proceed with the utmost severity against your son's people, and employ fire and sword to reduce them, of which I would have your Ladyship to give them forthwith notice in the most public manner. they continue obstinate after this warning, it will be their own fault, and not mine, if they are destroyed. I thought it further necessary to acquaint your Ladyship that Coll. Clayton is with a detachment of a thousand men towards Eilandonald, on the extremity of my Lord Seafort's country, so that his people are now surrounded on all sides. have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and veneration, Madam, your Ladyship's most obedient and most obliged humble servant,

WILLIAM CADOGAN,"

Seaforth, at this crisis, was clearly of the mind to capitulate, and his friends approached the Government for that purpose. They were duly informed that upon laying down their arms, and Seaforth himself surrendering at Inverness, he might expect a pardon. But on conferring with his Jacobite friends, especially Huntly, who scrupled not to make him his scape-goat, Seaforth sailed for the Lewis, and embodied his vassals there under Campbell of Ormundel. This supremely foolish act entailed upon the Government an expedition to the Lewis under Colonel Cholmondely, at the appearance of which the Lewismen dispersed, abandoning Campbell to the mercy of the enemy. Seaforth meanwhile found his way to France, from whence, in 1719, he set out on another futile attempt to reinstate the Stewarts, the story of which we feel bound to give with the greatest possible brevity.

As a result of treaty engagements with Britain the Chevalier and his ragged Court were no longer recognised by the French Government, and the scene of their intrigues was in consequence transferred to Spain. The virtual head of the Spanish monarchy at that time was Cardinal Albaroni, who having previously declared hostilities against this country was awake to the utility of providing it with a nice little war within its own borders. As a first step he invited the Duke of Ormond to a conference in Spain, and thereat engaged to furnish the Pretender, first, with 6000 soldiers, a supply of money and arms, together with a sufficient fleet, towards making a descent upon the English coast, and under the belief that the Jacobites of that country, on the first signal, would assemble in force, and carry all before them; and second, with a smaller force the objective of which was the Highlands of Scotland. The minor expedition was to consist of several men-of-war, having on board six companies of infantry, 5000 pistoles in money, and 2000 stand of good arms. Both divisions set out, but the first encountered a storm which continued two days, by which it was driven back to Spain, disconcerting the whole enterprise. The second, which had on board the Earl Marischal, Seaforth, Tullibardine, Mackenzie of Coul, Campbell of Glendarule, and a few other leaders, set out from Havre on 19th March, 1719, and, after narrowly escaping the British fleet, succeeded in reaching the Lewis. It was intended that with what men could be collected in the Lewis the force would land somewhere on the West Coast, march swiftly through the glens, surprise Inverness,

and form a centre on which the Jacobite Clans might assemble. But the usual divisions and bickerings supervened. Albaroni, who had supplied not only the implements but the funds for the expedition, nominated the capable Earl Marischal to the supreme command, placing the fleet under his absolute control; the Chevalier, on the other hand, and as a result of Court intrigue, had assigned that dangerous honour to the Earl of Tullibardine, who, on the arrival of the fleet in the Lewis, exhibited a patent to that effect. In these cross purposes might be plainly seen at work the evil genius of that Line, even then a byword and a shaking of the head among the nations! The Earl Marischal became indignant and procrastinated; Tullibardine vented his rage in profane language and billinsgate, and at length, when the vessels reached Lochalsh and the stores and soldiers were landed at the old fortalice of Ellandonan, the former on the instant, and quite aware of what would follow, set sail for Spain.

Well-nigh two whole months had in this way passed, for the landing did not take place until about the middle of May, by which time the Government had not only full information of what was occurring, but had ample force at hand wherewith to crush every attempt at insurrection.

Keith had barely reached the Atlantic when three English men-of-war entered the Loch, and battered into ruins in a few hours the old Castle, which had been converted into a place of arms. Previously, the Spaniards, the Lewismen, and such of the Clan as were at hand, to the number of 1600 men, encamped in temporary huts in the Pass of Glenshiel. Here the leaders heard, for the first time, of the dispersion of the main expedition, and had the additional mortification to find that the Clans to the West, with a wholesome regard for their own safety, were in no mood to join the expedition.

Meantime General Wightman had been collecting a force of 1600 regulars, and early in June, accompanied by portions of the Clans in the Government interest, Frasers, Munros and Sutherlands, he marched against the adventurers. Few places could afford better ground for defence than this Pass—a narrow valley, pierced by a deep, roaring torrent, with precipitous mountains rising to a vast height on either side, and scaleable only by rugged winding footpaths. Wightman arrived in sight of this formidable position on the 11th, and in his dispatch

acknowledges his hesitation at beginning operations. He, however, began by a turning movement, in which the Highlanders did yeoman service, they being to the manner born, but not without suffering severely. The skirmish lasted for several hours, but in spite of the resistance Wightman obtained what he wanted—the advantage f ground, and so clearly was this seen by the rebels that it was resolved next day that the Spaniards would surrender themselves prisoners of war, while the Highlanders would disperse after their usual manner. Lords Seaforth and Tullibardine, though both wounded, escaped by the help of their friends. Wightman lost 21 men killed with 121 wounded, but he had the triumph of bringing into Edinburgh 274 Spanish prisoners.—Burton.

(George Munro, younger of Culcairn, engaged on the side of the Government, receiving during the action a severe wound, which disabled him for some time. As the enemy continued to fire upon him, the wounded Chief ordered his servant to leave him to his fate, and acquaint his father and his friends that he had died honourably. Instead of doing so the gallant fellow so placed himself as to receive several wounds which would otherwise have further injured his Chief. It is pleasant to add that both were shortly afterwards rescued by the Company.—Tales of a Grandfather. Captain Downs and two lieutenants of Montagues are killed; Captain Moor and Heigington of Clayton's wounded, as is Culcairn in the thigh and the bone is safe. It is said that Seaforth is wounded in the shudder and Gordon of Glenbucket in the legg.—Culloden Papers, Provost Hossack to the Laird of Culloden).

CHAPTER XX.

As will be seen later on, a number of interesting details of provincial history connect themselves with the affair of Glenshiel and the forfeiture of the Seaforth estates, which duly followed; but since certain incidents, interesting in themselves and illustrative of the manners of the period occurred during the general election of 1722, they demand previous mention.

The Northern Burghs, substantially the existing group, then, as now, returned a member to the Imperial Parliament, the electorate in every instance being the several self-elected Town Councils; Cromartyshire alternatively with Nairnshire, also returning a member, the electorate in the former shire being sometimes ten, but usually three! In Ross, at that period, the number of electors is unknown to us, but they certainly were not more numerous than in 1811, when they numbered sixty-nine.

The Dingwall election riot belongs to this period, though taking place during the previous year, the candidate for Parliamentary honours being our loyal friend, Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis. He had probably already secured the suffrages of the Tain electorate—a place, by the way, where the Munros had all along greater influence than in Dingwall—and his object on this occasion was to secure a majority in the latter burgh as well. The story is a long one, and will, therefore, more appropriately fall to be told in the forthcoming History of the Burgh by ex-Dean of Guild Frew. Suffice it to say at present that this attempt to supercede their Burgh Fathers was greatly resented by the Dingwall mob, a resentment which occasioned an armed invasion of the burgh by a strong detachment of the Clan Munro. One woman, the wife of Bailie Mackenzie, was shot in her own doorway by a chance bullet, an accident for which Sir Robert compounded by a large sum

of money, by means of which that building known as the "Pavilion" was erected—probably the last occasion in which an "eric," so termed, was accepted for homicide in the Province. He was, also, along with his relative, Culcairn, tried for the riot at Inverness, found guilty, and heavily fined. As will be seen under the appropriate date, though Ross contributed most of the victims to the Little Ferry fiasco, few, if any, of its sons helped to redden with their blood the heather of Culloden, and the reason for this calls for brief mention.

Here it will be remembered that the heads of the composite Clan Mackenzie were exceedingly adverse to join the rising of the '15; while subsequently a near view of James VIII. himself had no tendency to reanimate their enthusiasm. That they were Jacobites cannot be called in question, but, as could be seen from their remonstrance, most were possessed of good sense as well; had also a well-ground conviction that the cause of the exiled Family had become hopeless, and though the embarrasing of the Hanoverian Government might afford them a certain amount of pleasure, they were not too eager to risk their lives or properties for that end. Latterly, besides, they had before their eyes, by way of an object lesson, the fate of their Chief, which they duly conned. That nobleman had not only twice risked his life in the Stewart interest, but had also forfeited his estates, yet, when he appeared at the Pretender's Court he was made to feel that in doing all this he simply fulfilled his bounded duty, and was merely accorded the thanks due to an unprofitable servant. The medicine was bitter but wholesome, and the dose had not to be repeated! Happily, he had not to depend on Court alms. For a few years his West Coast rents reached him as regularly as when he lived in Brahan. The Highland tenant, we may remark, was never a punctual rent-paying creature; judicious, constant pressure was all along indispensable if his arrears were not to accumulate, but in the present instance Seaforth had the good fortune to be served by Donald Murchison, a model factor, or commissioner, if ever there was one. Though not a Mackenzie, he was still a clansman, and when out in the '15, he with his brother, John, great-grandfather of the celebrated Sir Roderick Murchison, acted for the great Clan Mackenzie Regiment as Lieutenant-Colonel and senior Major respectively. Sir Roderick possessed a large ivory snuff "mull" in which was transmitted his ancestors commission, which bore on a

suitable silver plate the inscription: "James Rex; forward and spare not."—(History Mackenzies).

While Murchison thus illegally officiated as factor for the exiled Earl, two praiseworthy attempts were made by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners towards securing the rents in question for the Crown. In 1720, William Ross of Easterfearn, an ex-Provost of Tain, and Bailie Robert Ross of that burgh, had the temerity to undertake the duties of stewards of the forfeited Seaforth, Glengarry, and Strathglass estates. They duly announced their appointments to the various tenants, and specified the days on which they might be expected, but nothing could be more discouraging than the replies elicited. These were to the effect that since in these districts gold and silver were abnormally scarce, the rents would have to be paid in lead, and that in the work of collection not a little risk would be incurred! In spite of the implied threat the Messrs Ross set out from Invercannich, in Strathglass, for Kintail, accompanied by several relatives and with an escort of thirty soldiers, and at Knockfin were reinferced by fifty more from the Bernera Barracks, under Lieutenant Brymer. In the meantime sinister rumours reached the party to the effect that not only was the way before them beset by parties of desperate armed men of the Clans Macdonald, Cameron, and Chisholm, but that; the pass in front was held by 300 men, under Donald Murchison, all armed with excellent Spanish muskets, introduced during the recent expedition. The information was alarming, but relying upon the legal character of the expedition and the military escort, the party set out from Knockfin at four o'clock a.m. on Monday, October 2nd, and after a fatigueing march of twelve miles came in sight of the pass referred to. The place was, and is known as, Ard-na-mullich, where the River Affric, reinforced by the Ault-na-ciche, rushes through a narrow gorge to the lake of that name. In this choice of ground Murchison displayed his undoubted military talent, for on one hand the torrent raged through a narrow gorge, and on the other the rock rose sheer over the only pathway, which is so narrow that two men cannot with safety walk abreast. At the same time he so disposed of his party along the neighbouring heather-clad heights that with little risk to themselves they might pick off their assailants at their leisure.

Accordingly, as soon as the expedition came within long range they were received with a volley which, however, did little or no harm. But

when toiling up the actual pass, another volley was fired at them with fatal results, and to which the military responded in an effectual sort of way. It was seen that the ex-Provost had received two wounds, while his son, Walter, was mortally wounded at his side, Bailie Ross' son being also hurt. The accounts of what followed is most confusing. Messrs Ross were certainly made prisoners, but we hear nothing further of the military. They even appear to have been allowed to retire unmolested, the hopeless nature of the service being abundantly manifest. It would further seem that the Messrs Ross had to give up all their papers and give an engagement never more to undertake any Highland stewardship whatsoever. Peace was thus restored, but before morning Walter Ross had died of his wounds. The party then took the road homewards, carrying the body of the young man with them, while Murchison insisted on escorting them past a thicket where, he alleged, a party of blood-thirsty Camerons lurked for the purpose of giving their flesh to the eagles! On their reaching Beauly young Ross was buried in the Priory.

A second attempt to collect those rents was made some time after—it is not stated by what officials—but on this occasion supported by a party of 150 regulars under a Captain Macneil. That officer adopted the longer but much safer route now no longer followed, via Contin, Comrie, and Strathconon from Dingwall. Murchison had information of this expedition, and had the strategic positions timeously occupied by a sufficient force. Macneil and his people gallantly breasted the hill, but soon found that if he proceeded he would be at the mercy of an overwhelming force, and so posted as to forbid their dislodgment. This fact he only ascertained after having one of his grenadiers killed, and himself and several of his men wounded. In these circumstances he thought it best to retire by the way he came, and report his failure to his superiors at Inverness.

General Wade, who then held the chief command in the North, when reporting the foregoing failures to the Government, naively concludes by saying:—" The tenderness the subjects in North Britain have for each other is a great encouragement for rebels and attainted persons to return home from their banishment."

In most of the Histories which deal with the affairs of the '15 Donald Murchison is always referred to in honourable terms, while Seaforth, whom he served at so much risk, is at the same time held up to reproach for treating those services with ingratitude. Mr William Mackay, solicitor, Inverness, the latest and most reliable authority on this subject, does not, however, write of the ingratitude in question as a matter of fact, but of tradition. In point of fact, most traditions require the same rigid authentication as Cremona violins do, and for far better reasons. The specimen before us, however, carries its own unreliability in its face. First, it was never in the power of the Seaforth concerned to show pecuniary gratitude to any one. We shall see from the Culloden Papers that he was long a poor man, and must have also died in comparative poverty. Secondly, Murchison is said to have died in the prime of his life, and variously in Urray and Kintail. Holding, as he did at Sheriffmuir, the rank of Field-Officer in a Clan wherein many proud gentlemen of the House of Kintail bore arms, he must have been of ripe years and commanding experience—say thirtyfive, and if we allow the prime of life to be then, as now, forty-five—that is ten years after Sheriffmuir was lost and won, he would be in his grave sixteen years before the House of Seaforth had it in its power to give him six feet of earth for that purpose, not to speak of a farm; Lord Fortrose, it will be remembered, recovering possession of the estates not earlier than 1741. We have not glossed over the shortcomings of the various Seaforths, but all through our investigations we have hardly met an instance of their ingratitude; and we are, therefore, compelled for the reasons given to set down the tradition in question as the deliberate invention of a caluminator.

In 1716 an Act was passed for the disarmament of the Highlanders, though not really enforced until eight years after, and even then, in most cases, it formed a dead letter. The only trade the Highlander had any knowledge of was war, and to ask him to part with his serviceable tools was like asking him to part with his right hand; but like other operatives he had about him, in the condition of old iron, what had once been fighting tools of a kind; these he was quite willing to part with for a consideration, and this really constituted the disarmament of the day. The others, carefully warmed, and then greased with deer's tallow, were laid past in suitable places until required. Nor is it necessary to believe that these arms were retained for purposes of prospective rebellion. Until long after there was not even a rudimentary

police force in the Province, while "broken men," that is lawless desperadoes, abounded. So, for a Highlander to part with his arms was often equivalent to losing his little property, or it might be his life. This was, of course, known to Wade, to whom the surrender was made, and might have conduced to the above result.

The Mackenzies were the first Clan called upon to lay down their arms, and they scored a point for their exiled Chief with General Wade, and through him with the Government, by producing an order from that nobleman to obey the law frankly and fully.

Seaforth encountered for this act a rebuke as severe as ever victorious monarch administered to a discredited general, and he, accordingly, shortly thereafter formally abandoned a service wherein he received no sympathy whatever for his many sacrifices, and wherein, while subjected to painful exactions, he received nothing but contemptuous neglect. His desertion was loudly denounced by the Jacobites, but, in the circumstances, it was clearly not only inevitable but meritorious.

The heads of the Clan Coinich, however, insisted as a condition of laying down their arms that the function would take place in presence of regular troops, and not in that of any of the Independent Companies, whom they affected to despise. Wade, flattered by the preference shown to the professional soldier over the irregular, cheerfully agreed to the stipulation, and on the day appointed he met them at Brahan Castle, then his headquarters, at the head of two Companies of his own Regiment. Here 800 Highlanders of the various families acknowledging Seaforth as Chief, filed past, and grounded their arms before him. It is easy to see from his report that Wade was most favourably impressed by this act of obedience to the law, nor, as already remarked, did he show himself unduly critical with respect to the quality of the goods for which he was paying in honest English gold. The act was accompanied with an engagement entered into for the Clan by the Earl of Cromartie, Sir Colin Mackenzie of Coul, and the redoubtable Donald Murchison, to the effect that for the future they would yield as dutiful an obedience to the reigning family as they formerly did to the Stewarts, and, as we shall see, the promise was made good.

While it may be admitted that to some extent and for a well-defined object the scenic entered into this display of obedience to the law, there can be no doubt but that the treatment meeted out to Seaforth,

by the House he had served not so wisely as well, constituted the irritant and leading impulse; nor could the coldest-blooded Hanoverian present, any less than Wade, fail to be impressed by the spectacle itself. The circumvalation with which Brahan Castle was then furnished inclosed a wide parade-ground before the existing front, and here the regular troops were drawn up, while Wade stood on the steps leading to the grand entrance. Here he received in due form the chieftains and taxmen of the Clan to the number of fifty, who then entered into the engagement referred to. While this was going on, 784 stout Highlanders, four deep, and by parishes, were marching down the Long Avenue, their fighting tools carried by garrons, and as they passed the General from right to left, the arms were received, counted, and paid for by suitable officials. As parish contingent after parish contingent passed, refreshments were supplied in which they drank the health of the king-de-facto, and at once took the road homewards. That this act had the intended effect is clear from the fact that during the following year Seaforth received a pardon under the Great Seal, unaccompanied, however, by any provision for his maintenance.

The Commissioners on the Forfeited Estates when making their final report in 1736, stated that they had been unable to obtain possession of the estates of Lord Seaforth, and that they in consequence could not find a purchaser. That they failed to raise the rents we have seen, nor does it appear, after a few years had passed, was Murchison a whit more successful, the tenantry resolving that since they might not they would not pay. Certain it is from the evidence of the Culloden Papers that Seaforth in 1727 was in very reduced circumstances. Under date of 27th June of that year he writes:—"I was last Tuesday to wait upon Sir Robert Walpole, who desired hearing what I had to say, that I should put it in black and white that he might show it to His Majesty. I did as ordered . . . it was not to be complied with, nor would the king give orders to be confirmed what his royal father had granted before. On hearing this I could not forbear making it appear how ill I was used. The Government in possession of the estate, and I allowed to starve, though they are conscious of my complying with whatever I promised to put into execution . . . which he could not but own was right. Now, my lord, you being my sincere friend, I the more candidly lay the case before you that you, by your

usual prudence may fall upon such methods as will be thought most proper towards contributing to what may tend to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned. I beg leave you will give your directions, since what your worship says will be law to me and mine. I am, my lord, your lordship's obedient and humble servant,

"SEAFORT."

The Lord Advocate, to whom the letter was addressed, did not fail his distressed countryman, and we accordingly find that on the 11th of August, he wrote Mr Scrope, official secretary to the all powerful Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, through whom much of his correspondence with the Government passed, and in these terms: - "As to the request of Seaforth, which was a pension, Sir Robert had some doubts of its success with the king, and whether he has made any step in it since I know not; but there is a circumstance cast up of late which claims the execution of a promise he had made some time ago, in which, I hope, there will be no difficulty; the estate of Seaforth owed for several years feu duties to the Crown, which now rise to a considerable sum, and will be payable out of the price of the estate when it is sold. A grant of these to the poor man, or to any trustee for him, would be a vast relief to him and his children in their present circumstances; and as this takes no money out of the Treasury, I should flatter myself it may without great difficulty be obtained. Your assisting to help forward this charitable purpose will be extremely obliging to me."

On the same day he wrote Sir Robert direct, and in similar terms, and recalled to his memory the opinion he had expressed when he "had last the honour to speak to him on the subject, and I humbly beg that you may take a fit opportunity to move it, that the thing be done."

On the 11th September following he had the pleasing evidence to hand that his efforts were to be crowned with success. Scrope writes—"If you please, send a draft of a signature for granting what you propose for the Earl of Seaforth; Sir Robert has promised to get it dispatched," etc., etc. It is somewhat difficult to see how this grant could help poor Seaforth, but that it did there is no doubt. Our theory is that the document gave him power to recover in the Courts of Law from the defaulting tenantry sums of money equal to the feu duties in question. How he subsequently managed to make both ends meet we have not

ascertained, all we know is that in 1740 he died while in the Lewis, and was buried there. He was succeeded by his son, Kenneth, called by courtesy Lord Fortrose, who, it must be owned, implemented to the letter the paternal promise of accepting the prudent Lord Advocate's counsel as "law to me and mine."

As the question of the forfeited estates entered deep into the social politics not only of Ross, but of a great part of Scotland as well, a clear account of its bearings, from Burton, may be in order here.

"It may be thought that to realise and distribute the forfeited estates for the public benefit could have been no difficult task; but the measure by which this was sought to be accomplished was, through the unfortunate heedlessness of the British Legislature of the day, a keen wound to Scottish nationality. By Act of Parliament the whole matter was put into the hands of a body of Commissioners, consisting of gentlemen having large Parliamentary influence, of whom Sir Richard Steel was one. The phraseology, as well as the tenor of the Act throughout, was evidently directed to secure popular favour, and instead of the usual expressions about forfeitures which appear to carry them to the sovereign even when they go into the public Exchequer for the public use, care was taken throughout this Act to indicate that the confiscated property was to be applied to the public service, and misapplication by the Crown was carefully obviated by a clause nullifying all gifts of the forfeitures. Yet, in the midst of all this, there was deposited matter of national dissatisfaction to Scotland.

"The Commissioners were appointed to deal summarily with the estates as if they were so much contraband goods in the hands of revenue officers. But the provision could not be thus enforced. Scotland had long boasted of a scientific system of land registration, and like other arrangements for the tenure and transmission of property in constitutional countries, even an order of the Supreme Legislature, if it did not set to work the old established machinery, could not provide a new arrangement for disposing of private rights. There were creditors and other persons who had patrimonial claims on the estates, and they applied to the constituted authorities of the country, through which all claims in ordinary cases required to pass. The Commissioners appointed receivers, but the name was a novelty in Scotland. The Court of Session knew no such functionaries, and the

commissioners had no means of invigorating their receivers with effective power. The Court of Session, on the applications of creditors and other claimants, granted sequestration of the estates. The Commissioners, in their turn, did not know what sequestration meant, and were angry, but impotent. A Bill was brought in forthwith to remove the difficulties, as if the administration of proprietory justice in Scotland were part of the official function of the executive which must not be disturbed.

"The Judges of the Court of Session now deemed it necessary to come forward in public defence of the legal system committed to their administration. They represented that, by the Treaty of Union, the internal laws of Scotland were preserved, along with the Courts whose function it was to administer them. These laws and the function of the Court might be altered by Parliament from time to time, but they maintained that the appointment of a separate tribunal, not cognisant of, or bound by the rules of Scottish law, having a large portion of the property of the country put at his disposal, was not a legitimate alteration of the system by Parliament, but was a transference of the Parliamentary power of disposing it, to an executive body unknown to the constitution. They mentioned that they had never been consulted about the Bill, of the contents of which they had only accidentally heard in time to enable them, as guardians of the land, to protest against it.

"The remonstrance did not prevent the passing of the measure, which was opposed in the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyle and Lord Ilay, and carried by a majority of six. But whether or not owing to the judicial remonstrance, an appeal was provided from the decision of the Commissioners to a Court of Delegates consisting of Judges of the Supreme Court."

The forfeited estates were principally purchased by the celebrated Yorks Buildings Company, an institution of substantially the same nature as the notorious Liberator Company, which made similar efforts to improve the country and create a spirit of enterprise, its chief exploits in Scotland being in the Badenoch district, where, by the senseless extravagance of its methods, it acquired the contempt of the community. The sale of the estates brought but trifling sums to the public, for whose benefit they were professedly appropriated. From the clannish spirit of the Scots it never was easy to realise much sterling

money from a forfeiture, and on this occasion there seemed to be a tacit combination through the community to enclose the property with a net-work of debts, burdens and old family settlements, through the meshes of which the Commissioners could extract only fractional portions. The lawyers had the triumph of seeing that the plan to sell property like contraband merchandise proved a failure; and it was found necessary to pass an Act re-adjusting the estates, in the new hands to which they passed, to the dominion of the old feudal rules.

Through these hindrances, with those before mentioned going together, the Seaforth estates remained on the Commissioners' hands. and ultimately on those of the Government, and in that way led to their restoration under a not intolerable burden into their right owner's hands. We find that in 1741 the Crown disposed of those vast possessions to Lord Fortrose, Seaforth's heir-at-law—the law forbidding a gift—for the modest sum of £,22,909 8s. 3½d., with the burden of an annuity of £1000 to Frances, Countess-Dowager; the interest of this sum the properties could very well afford, and leave a handsome margin withal to support the dignity of Caberfeigh. That the Government did a wise and prudent thing they had within a few years ample opportunity of realising, when, instead of having numbered among their enemies a desperate man at the head of 3000 vengeful followers, they had in him a steady friend, whose support was chiefly limited by their own inability to supply him with the requisite arms, or pay for the troops he was willing to raise.

We have already given extracts from the Lord President's correspondence when as Lord Advocate he pled the cause of Seaforth; but since, though having his life work in Edinburgh, and his residence at Culloden, he was at the same time an extensive Ross-shire proprietor, and largely instrumental in keeping the king's peace in the north, it will be in order to give the reader who has not access to the Culloden Papers, where by his correspondence he has drawn at full length his own portrait, some notion of his superlative character.

Of contemporary statesmen he was an easy first, and the rest nowhere. It is not too much to say that if his counsel had been adopted by the Duke of Newcastle—the Anarch Old, according to Carlyle—the Rebellion of 1745 would have been strangled at its birth, if it even came that length. Further, to him it was mainly owing that instead of a

futile irruption of 5000 Highlanders into England, triple that number was not hurled with crushing effect against an unpopular king, a stupid Ministry, and an Administration rotten in every department! It is absurd to suppose that even in that case there would have been a Revolution, but the certain effect would be a putting back of the national progress for a century at least.

His services in the past crisis were indeed so important that previous to their being adequately recognised and rewarded, the utter incapacity of the Government, when dealing with the Highlands, would have to be exposed, a thing, of course, not to be thought of, and in consequence, President Forbes was passed by altogether! Worse even than that, the necessities of the public service had required his drawing extensively on his own private resources, monies which were never refunded, the expense of corrupting Parliament using up all the cash the Pelham Ministry had to spare!

Yet, with all his knowledge of the Highlands, and insight into the Highland character, the '45 came upon the Lord President as a surprise. He well knew the quality of the explosive material which he had been trying hard to render innocuous, but in view of the vast increase of extinguishing agencies south, and even north of the Grampians, he could hardly conceive of an outbreak; yet he was deceived, it might even be said that he was befooled by that hardened reprobate, Lord Lovat, though, perhaps, his mortification and astonishment reached the acute stage only when he found his own nephew assuming the white cockade, and joining the rebels.

Prince Charles Edward landed at Moidart on the 25th July, 1745, but so well was the fact kept concealed, that not until the 8th of August did even the news that he intended to effect a landing in the Highlands reach Edinburgh. On the latter date we find the Lord President writing to the Marquis of Tweeddale, referring to the matter as a flying report. He says that he heard "that the Pretender's eldest son had gone on board in some one of the ports of France, bound for Scotland, in order to attempt an insurrection there," a thing he considered highly improbable, but which, notwithstanding, he resolved not to neglect.

CHAPTER XXI.

WE are not here called upon to deal with the main current of '45 history and the catastrophe of Culloden other than as things analogous to a conflagration in our neighbourhood which a few reckless spirits in the Province, headed by the unfortunate Earl of Cromartie, did their best to extend, and which a number of our people were at considerable pains to extinguish.

A few days previous to the unfurling of the rebel standard at Glenfinnan, President Forbes, having arrived at Culloden House, resumed that active correspondence with the heads of the various Clans, which in their own and their country's interest, he had for years been pursuing. That in many cases he was unsuccessful, and in the case of the old rogue, Lovat, even befooled, is notorious; nevertheless it is no less true that mainly as a result of his efforts the Clans of Ross, Skye, and the Laich of Moray remained faithful to the Government His correspondents included not only the and lost to its enemies. Secretary of State, but Sir John Cope, Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, Macleod of Macleod, the Earl of Cromattie, Lord Lovat, Lord Fortrose (Seaforth), etc., etc. The Lord President's first letter to the Lord Seaforth, bearing upon the gathering storm in the West is dated 26th August, and in it he impresses upon that nobleman the present necessity of assembling his people in force, with the view of reinforcing General Sir John Cope, that eminent warrior being then on his way north to nip the Rebellion in its bud. From light thrown by an interesting story that comes to us through the Clan History it is extremely doubtful if this letter ever reached the person addressed.

We are informed in that book that Lady Fortrose had strong Jacobite proclivities, and was with cheerful indifference to inevitable

penalties in no degree averse to using her position towards their furtherance. "The women are a' gane wud" (mad) was at that period a laudatory Jacobite proverb with respect to their ladies, as it still forms the title of one of their songs, and Lady Seaferth, it would appear, was no exception. At that period, and in any house, an element of this character was, obviously, a source of great danger, but here it was abnormal, for the Seaforth of the '45 was known to be a mild tempered gentleman, and in the interest of domestic peace might, by passionate nagging, be led to compromise himself.

It would also appear that this peril did not escape the notice of the leading families of the Clan; at all events it did not escape the notice of the Rev. Colin Mackenzie, minister of Fodderty. By some means not explained he was the first in the Machair who had obtained authentic information of the fact that Prince Charlie had landed at Loch-na-uaigh, and under the combined fear of Lady Fortrose's strident tongue and her husband's facile disposition, set out on the instant for Brahan, night though it was. When it is remembered that the existing Fodderty Lodge then formed the manse of the parish, it will be seen that the shortest way to Brahan lay across the battlefield of our early chapters, thence ascended Coil-na-righ, traversed the swampy Ussie Valley, descended the break-neck Pass of Tollie, and crossed the wide deer park to the Castle-involving a four-mile journey of the most selfdenying character—and it will appear evident that the minister's heart was in his work. With the corridors of the Castle Mr Mackenzie was, of course, as familiar as with the interior of his own manse, and reaching his Chief's bedroom unobserved by anyone, awakened him by whispering in his ear the nature of his visit. Seaforth arose without disturbing the sleep of his helpmate, dressed in an adjoining room, whence both gentlemen issued unobserved, saddled and bridled for themselves two stout garrons, and started for Poolewe, sixty miles distant, where they arrived in safety that night. Holding what follows of the story to be apocryphal we merely add that both gentlemen remained here until the armed torrent from whose inductive influence they had withdrawn had passed south, leaving President Forbes virtual king of the Highlands.

In the same volume—much of which seems to have been written by a marine for marines—we are gravely told that on the occasion of Prince Charlie's visit to Brahan he was hospitably entertained by Lady Fortrose!

How is it, we may ask, that no serious historian of the period refers to this visit? If he had visited Brahan he must have taken Beaufort on his way, but nothing can be more certain than the fact that his first meeting with Lord Lovat took place at Gortuleg, immediately after Culloden, while during his subsequent wanderings his nearest approach to Brahan was the summit of Bein-a-cherine, on the north side of Glencannich, distant thirty miles as the crow flies.

Lord President Forbes' policy, as representative of the Government at this period, was two-fold. First, by arguments addressed to the self-interest of the various chiefs concerned, to the effect that by taking part in another Jacobite insurrection their swift and absolute ruin might be anticipated; and next, on the Rebellion declaring itself, to employ in the Government service, and in the form of Independent Companies, those Clans which had remained faithful, so as to prevent its further extension. On this footing, among others, he had conferred and corresponded with the Earl of Cromartie, regarding whom, and for sufficient reason, sinister rumours had gone abroad.

In that nobleman's reply, dated 19th October, he refers to both conversation and letter, complains that he has been misrepresented "in his endeavours for the best, a general calamity of the times in which he will have to take his share like the rest, and he hopes that the Lord President, who knew his sentiments on these matters, will not only not credit idle stories, but contradict them, etc., etc." The Lord President, when acknowledging this letter, congratulated the Earl "on the seasonable relief from abundant uneasyness which his letter afforded," and concludes by hoping that "what I from your lordship's declaration can say, together with your future conduct during these commotions, which I pray God may soon be over, will be effectual to dissipate all surmises that have hitherto prevailed among the makers and retailers of news in this country."

The conduct of the Earl at this period has baffled every attempt at explanation. True, his son, Lord Macleod, then a youth of eighteen, and in the Memoirs which he wrote in after life, hints at having been himself slighted in some way—presumably by President Forbes, but surely nothing but the fatuity accompanying judicial blindness would have induced his father to consider that a sufficient reason for hazarding life and estates. This view seems to be strengthened by the further

consideration that the insurrection had actually expended its force before he took the field with the handful of men which constituted his command, and which merely served to reinforce the retreating rebels at Stirling.

Since the Earl of Cromartie's "battalion," as Lovat termed it, was the sole contribution of Ross to the Rebellion, it calls here for notice and description. That which marched as far as Stirling consisted of but 81 men all told, as the Government returns from local officials still extant testify, and seems to have been recruited from the loose population of the Machair exclusively. To this force Tain contributed five recruits, Dingwall three or four, and the Castle Leod property of the Earl four only. Though forming, so far as numbers went, but one average-sized company, it was divided into two; one commanded by Lord Macleod, and the other by Alexander Ross of Pitcalnie. As we shall see further on, the recruits from the part of the West Coast estates did not turn up until shortly before the catastrophe at Little Ferry, in which they accordingly shared. But there was another West Coast contingent (numbers unknown) commanded by Colin Dearg Mackenzie of Laggy, Major Mackenzie of Kilcov, and Lieutenant Murdoch Mackenzie from Dingwall (son of Bailie Mackenzie of the Pavilion) all and sundry, it would appear, the very elixir of the scoundrelism of Ross, who, though they could rob successfully, engaged in neither marching nor fighting. (See their foul record in Macmillan's Magazine, June, 1898, under "A Cousin of Pickle," by Andrew Lang).

By comparing of dates it is evident that while the Earl of Cromartie was penning the above letter he was on the point of setting out on his ill-starred expedition. But before quoting from the Lovat correspondence, the very first intimation the President had of the fact, reference may be made to a solemn warning which the Earl had from his parish minister, the famous John Porteous of Kilmuir.

This eminent man of God was born in Inverness, and was the grandson of one of Cromwell's troopers who had fallen in love with one of the daughters of the land, and made her country his own. As became his Puritan ancestry Mr Porteous was fearless in rebuking sin, whether in high or low places, nor had he any doubt but that the insurrection now in progress was of that character.

Aware that his parishioner was about to take an active part in the

Rebellion, he paid him a pastoral visit at New Tarbat House, then the most palatial mansion in the North, on which, it would appear, the first Earl had spent much of his ill-gotten gold; and solemnly warned him against the course on which he was bent. Viewed as men, the reigning House was, he said, not a whit better than that which they had supplanted, but the one was identified with the cause of civil and religious liberty, the other represented the poisonous dogma that the king alone was free, while his subjects took rank as slaves, and that, therefore, to take up arms in order to overturn the present Government and restore the Stewarts was simply an act of treason against God and man. He, therefore, affectionately warned his lordship against his intended course. The Earl heard him out, but being already hopelessly entangled in the meshes of the Rebellion, ashamed to seek extrication, and resenting that interference with his freedom of choice which the warning of the minister involved, he ordered him out of the room. Mr Porteous at once retired. but in doing so he said, that among the results which would follow his lordship's despite to message and messenger, there were multitudes then living who, among other calamities impending on his line, would see that very room roofless, and abandoned to nettles! The prediction, it is hardly necessary to add, was fulfilled to the very letter! On the forfeiture of the title and estates the splendid mansion with marked rapidity fell into decay and ruin, so that when the family estates were restored in the days of Lord Macleod it was found preferable to erect a new house rather than repair the old.

While these facts may not be disputed there are those who will credit Mr Porteous with but sufficient political discernment to forecast the event from the hopelessness of the Rebellion; but there are others who, while granting the discernment, believe from the literal character of the fulfilment that there must have passed before the speaker's mental eye a vision of the doom he had announced. The warning was certainly lost to the Earl, but the presence of God in history in this way demonstrated was not lost to the minister and people of Kilmuir and of Ross.

By the beginning of November the behaviour of Lord Lovat had induced such an amount of suspicion that the letters addressed to him by the Lord President had become minatory, while the replies made are among the curiosities of epistolary literature. Thus, when

apologising for the confusion, obvious in his letter of the 6th November, he accounts for it through having for his guests on the evening before the Earl of Cromarty and his son, on their way south "with a battalion of the Mackenzies" to join the Rebel army. The news must have occasioned the president a sore heart.

Happily, Seaforth did not fail the Lord President as Lovat had done. In a letter dated October 13th he writes:—"The surmise of some young fellows of my name having the assurance to attempt raising men for the Highlanders at Edinburgh prevented my answering your lordship's letter sooner. Upon my factor's return I sent expresses to the suspected parts with orders to the tenants not to stir under pain of death . . . and they have returned this morning with the people's blessings for protecting them, and with assurances that they would do nothing without my orders, so that henceforth your lordship need not be concerned about any report from benorth Kessock. Lord Macleod's refusal and some other accidents will occasion a change in the officers of the two companies. I will send their names to-morrow, with some of themselves, and I hope to have one of the companies ready within twenty hours after the commissions are filled up."

With his usual sagacity the President had in every case given the Chiefs who had undertaken to raise the companies the nomination of the officers, and it is in this connection on his refusing to accept the captaincy of one of the Mackenzie companies that Lord Macleod is referred to. It was not then understood that a previous commission from Prince Charlie stood in the way.

It will have been noticed from Seaforth's letter that so far as his tenantry were concerned there existed a singular absence of that loyalty to the Stewarts which romancers with Jacobite proclivities are tireless in ascribing to the Highland people. Nor did Lovat, on the other side of the fence—as everybody knows—find his followers a whit more willing to peril life and limb in the service of the Chevalier. The truth is that the devotion alleged to exist arose from the fact that that House was in exile and its rivals in possession, while the various insurrections may be said to have owed their stimulus to the hope that those instrumental in restoring the exiled dynasty would be largely honoured and rewarded. Gratitude to that Line must have been altogether absent, for whatever its members might pretend, from the first Stewart to the

last, all, in point of fact, were the remorseless enemies of the Highlanders and of everything Highland.

Seaforth, in a subsequent letter, after referring to the base attempt made about that time by a party of Lord Lovat's people, doubtless by the old reprobate's orders, to capture the person of the Lord President in his own House of Culloden, goes on to write: - "I am preparing to act upon the defensive, and, I suppose, will soon be provoked to act upon the offensive. I have sent for a strong party of men to defend my house and overawe the country. None of my Kintail men will be down before Tuesday; but, as the River Conon is high, and that I have parties at the boats, nothing can be attempted by the enemy. Besides, I shall get reinforcements every day. . . . However, I do not believe one man will stir from Skye; though I am convinced that some people that are quiet were concerned in and authors of these troubles. Barrisdale is come down from Assynt, and was collared by one of the Maclauchlans there, for offering to force people to rise, and has met with no success there. I had a message from the Mackenzies in Argyllshire, to know what they should do; I advised them to stay at home and mind their own business. Thirty are gone with Lochiel, the rest, being sixty, are at home.—I am, etc., K. Mackenzie, Blaan Castle, 10th October."

In a letter from the President to the Earl of Sutherland, of October 20th, we have news as to the progress made in filling up the Independent Companies. He writes: -- "Whether those that are assembled shall think fit to march south, or remain where they are, it is necessary that the companies be without loss of time at Inverness, where arms shall be delivered to them. Culcairn has orders to march his company as soon as possible, which at furthest will be Tuesday, and that raised for the Master of Ross (Balnagown) has the same orders. As your lordship was to review Captain Gunn's Company yesterday at Dornoch, I presume they are ready, and, if that is the case, your lordship will be so good as to order them straightway to Tain, and from thence, if they come up with the Rosses, along with them to Inverness; and if the Rosses have gone before to follow them. I apprehend no danger by the way, as Lord Fortrose has assembled some men about Brahan; but if there should be any, the company passing at Inverbreakie (Invergordon Ferry) may come to Kessock or Avoch, and from thence by boat to Inverness,"

The Munros, thought not the nearest to Inverness, were the first to enter an appearance; followed by the Sutherlands, the Grants, the Mackays, the Sutherlands again, four companies of the Macleods of Skye, the Macleods of Assynt, two companies of the Mackenzies, the Mackays of Reay, two companies of the Macdonalds of Sleat, the Rosses, the Mackenzies of Lewis, in all, eighteen hundred men, fourteen of whom answered to their names in Inverness before the last day of 1745.

They were skilfully disposed of, and their presence in the various districts effectually prevented all further recruiting for the Rebel army and repressed the lawlessness of such parties of broken men as that rising had let loose.

On the 1st of February the Highlanders recrossed the Forth, and retreated on the reinforcements awaiting them at Perth, chiefly composed, it would appear, of Frasers, Mackintoshes, and the handful of Mackenzies. At Perth the Rebel army had formed into two divisions; the first, led by the Prince in person, took the Highland road by Blair Athol; the second, under Lord George Murray, marched by the coasts of Angus and Aberdeenshire, the rendezvous for both being Inverness.

Prince Charles, at the head of a small advanced party, on the 16th of February reached Moyhall, the seat of the Mackintosh, the Clan at that time being in the unfortunate position of having two heads, the greater part holding by "Colonel Anne," the Chief's wife, and one of the "wud" female Jacobites of the period; that gentleman himself holding the inferior but safer position of Captain of one of the Independent Companies, but, by the fortune of war, he had the ill-luck to become the "Colonel's" prisoner! Here the Prince resolved to refresh himself until the main body of his division came up, and the circumstance coming to the knowledge of Lord Loudon, then at the head of 1700 men at Inverness, he resolved on attempting his seizure. accordingly, set out at the head of a strong detachment on the evening of the 17th, but it is clear took no adequate precaution to keep the expedition secret or guard against surprise. The result was the disastrous rout of Moy, of which the histories speak; and where the famous piper MacCrimmon perished; the whole force, unmanned by panic, ran all the way to Inverness, sixteen miles off, where they arrived in a woeful plight from mortification and exhaustion.

Lord Loudon,* conscious that the force he had with him was too small to make any head against the rebels, but too large for present exigencies, sent a strong detachment by sea as a reinforcement to the Royal army then marching through Banffshire, and dispersed most of the others to their several districts, so that while safe from being overwhelmed, they would be ready to reassemble when called upon. He himself, with several of his officers, and a couple of companies remained for another day in Culloden House, enjoying the hospitality of the President, the only other troops about him being a party of the latter gentleman's Ferintosh tenantry; when the game he had intended to play upon the Prince at Moyhall was all but played upon himself. As the circumstances has escaped the research of Mr Chambers, they will be new to the average reader, nor will they be a whit less interesting to the people of Ross from the fact that they are authenticated by the celebrated Dr John Macdonald of Ferintosh.

The leaders of the Highland army, possessing a most efficient intelligence department, heard of the party at Culloden House, and early on the 18th detached a sufficient force to effect their capture, but debarred the operation until the evening. Happily, the wife of one of the labourers, having had occasion to look after some sheep in the wood where the soldiers were concealed, was alarmed by the apparition of a tall, fully armed Highlander standing before her, and inquiring whether or not she knew the President. The terror-stricken woman, fearing the worst, made no reply. But the Highlander, divining what was passing in her mind, assured her that he was a friend of his lordship's, and charged her, as she valued his life, and without the least delay, to deliver into his own hand the letter he now produced from his sporran. Never was important mission more faithfully executed. Arriving at Culloden House as the company was sitting down to dinner (dinners were early partaken of then) she had some difficulty in obtaining access to his lordship. She presented the letter, with the request that it be instantly read, since it contained information of the highest importance to all present. Read it was, and the immediate danger put dining out With the greatest silence possible the soldiery of reckoning.

^{*} Lord Loudon seems to have been the most incapable of the incapable generals of that period. The rout of Moy was merely the best known of his blunders in the Highlands. He was subsequently sent to command in North America, where, as we learn from Franklin's Autobiography, he established a record for fatuous incompetence which it is probable will ever remain unbroken.

were got rapidly together, and made their way to the shore—Alturlie Point probably—and had barely got into the boats kept in readiness there when the disappointed Highlanders, in close pursuit, appeared on the brae side, and sent a few bullets after them which, however, harmed no one. On landing in the Black Isle the party proceeded with all expedition towards Cromarty Ferry, which having crossed, they, notwithstanding the entreaties of the ferrymen, and as a precautionary measure, destroyed the boats. Without delay they passed over Easter Ross, and did not halt until they landed in Sutherlandshire, putting the Meikle Ferry between themselves and their pursuers.

For this seasonable warning the President was indebted to a Coll Bain Macdonald, who some years previously had appeared before the Court of Justiciary on a capital charge, and contrary to his own expectations was, through the services of his lordship, then practicing as an advocate, acquitted. The act of gratitude was characteristically Highland, and is not unworthy of being recorded among many similar returns associated with the ill-advised insurrection.

The President and Lord Loudon, aware that until the Rebellion was put down by the advancing Royal army no part of the north Highlands could afford them adequate protection, left-but indifferently provided for-the two companies at Dornoch, and taking the Ferintosh people with them by way of escort, made their way to Assynt. Here they dispatched a trusty messenger with a demand for assistance to Mr James Robertson, minister of Lochbroom, celebrated over the whole Highlands as the Strong Minister (A' Ministear Laider), and also well known as a staunch supporter of the House of Hanover. By means of a boat and boatmen which he procured for them they passed safely over to Skye, where they remained until the "Clans of Culloden were scattered in flight." The Ferintosh men got home in safety, but their appearance was so altered by hardship that the grand-daughter of one of them, who lived until a few years back, used to say that on entering his house he so resembled Nebuchadnezzar after his period of eclipse, that the children fled from his presence! The service rendered by Mr Robertson was duly reported to the Duke of Cumberland, and on his calling upon that hero soon after Culloden Mr Robertson was graciously received and presented with a dozen stand of arms for his own and his neighbours protection from "broken men."

When the trial of those unhappy men who had been taken prisoners at Little Ferry came on Mr Robertson did not forget that although they had not taken his advice they were his parishioners still, and he actually set out on a journey of 700 miles to London to use his influence in their behalf. He arrived while Hector Mackenzie, an officer of the Earl of Cromartie's, was on his trial, and to his unspeakable mortification, and in spite of his exertions, Mackenzie was condemned. minister was not to be put off. He went to the Duke of Newcastle, and earnestly solicited his intercession with the king for mercy to the condemned rebel. The Duke received him favourably, and put him off with a promise—the Anark Old had an immense stock of these always on hand-that the man's life would be spared. Mr Robertson, however, becoming alarmed, by a hint from a friend that the Duke's word was not to be relied upon, he at once worked his way again into his presence and renewed his intercession. The Duke, to get rid of his importunity at this time renewed his promise with an offer of his hand. The minister grasped it in his own awful fist, and gave it such a squeeze that His Grace in agony exclaimed, "Yes, yes, yes! Mr Robertson, you shall have him, you shall have him." This promise was not forgotten, and the man was saved.—(Rev. Dr Ross, in Stat. Ac.)

Readers familiar with Jacobite literature of the '45 are aware that our unfortunate countryman, the Earl of Cromartie, was by no means a favourite of its authors. Not only was he too late in joining the Rebellion to do it much practical service, though much too early so far as his own well-being was concerned, but managed to save his head, when those of better men were forfeited to the law. His operations in Ross from the period when he was sent to command there (1st March) until the catastrophe at Little Ferry on the 15th April—the day before Culloden—have been severely criticised; in fact, the Earl has been made the scapegoat of the chaotic military counsellors who then formed Prince Charlie's staff. These criticisms we may consider as summed up for us by Chambers in the following paragraphs which, before giving in the next chapter the actual facts, we here submit for the readers perusal:—

"Early in March the Prince dispatched the Earl of Cromartie with a large detachment to beat up the quarters of Lord Loudon in Ross-shire. The party consisted of the Earl's own regiment of the Mackenzies, the Mackintoshes, the small regiment of the Mackinnons, the Macgrigors (commanded by Mr James Macgrigor, a Government spy), and the men commanded by Macdonald of Barrisdale. It was perhaps insufficient for the enterprise in point of numbers, but a greater deficiency seems to have been in the commander, who left his men a couple of days at Dingwall while he went to his own house! The Prince, hearing no good accounts of the detachment, sent Lord George Murray to take command, who immediately advanced with it to Tain, found to his surprise that Lord Loudon had passed the Firth of Dornoch two days before without the Earl of Cromartie having obtained any knowledge of the fact, though he was in what the Highlanders emphatically called his own country. Lord George, however, saw nothing for it but to retire with his force to Dingwall, where they were within a day's march of both Tain and Inverness. Lord George now returned to Inverness, and the further prosecution of the enterprise was left to the Duke of Perth. By means of boats collected in Moray, the Duke, having marched from Dingwall, landed his force within a few miles of Dornoch, but fared little better than the Earl of Cromartie had done, Lord Loudon, as we saw, having found his way to Skye, but the companies he had left behind were surprised and made prisoners. By this event," Chambers goes on to say, "the Independent Companies on whom President Forbes had expended so much exertion and zeal were completely broken up. . . . The Duke of Perth then returned with most of the insurgent troops to Inverness, leaving only with the Earl of Cromartie a small detachment to keep the Loyalists of Sutherland in check."

CHAPTER XXII.

REFERRING to the conclusion of the previous chapter, the first point made by Chambers against the Earl of Cromartie is that "during the two days he was encamped at Dingwall"-we shall see he was much longer there—"he went at night home to his own house"—the reader, supposed to be as ignorant as the historian, being left to infer that the house in question must have been New Tarbat, twenty miles away. Without building on the probability that the Earl had a house in the burgh—he was then its Provost—his ancestral residence of Castle Leod was within twenty minutes easy riding; in either case it is hard to see where the military offence of self-indulgence came in when preferring to sleep in his own bed rather than in camp or furnished lodgings! And next we have the intrepid assertion, founded upon the surprise at Dornoch, "of the complete breaking up of the Independent Companies upon whom Forbes had expended so much zeal and exertion, etc." This attempt to belittle the efforts of the foremost Scotsman then living when endeavouring to keep the unhappy insurrection within manageable limits stands on an equally broad basis of ignorance with the former and with a spice of unfathered malice superadded. intended that those Companies would meet even a division of the Rebel Army on equal terms, so that their temporary dispersion in the presence of an overwhelming force was from the beginning a tacit arrangement. Their functions were those of an armed constabulary, and when not in a depreciatory mood, none bear clearer testimony to their efficiency before and after Culloden than Jacobite writers themselves. presently have occasion to see that the temporary dispersion of these Companies in no degree militated against their practical efficiency.

It may possibly be said in extenuation of the above strictures that

when most of the existing Jacobite narratives were written Lord Macleod's Memoirs and the correspondence between headquarters and the Earls of Cromartie, on which we are about to draw, and which we have in Fraser's Earls of Cromartie, were not then accessible, and even now exists but in few libraries. The plea in question might be accepted with respect to early editions, but since the Memoirs could for thirty years past be easily seen on application made to the representatives of the House of Cromartie, such statements cannot for a moment be excused.

On or about the 20th of February, 1746, Lord Cromartie immediately on presenting himself before the Prince, either at Inverness or in Culloden House, was ordered to proceed to Ross, and take over from Lord Kilmarnock the command of a force which had been dispatched thither to beat up Lord Louden's quarters. Lord Macleod, taking his own people with him, marched at once, crossed the Farrar (the Beauly), and found Lord Kilmarnock encamped near the adjacent It is evident from Lord Macleod's letter to Secretary Murray, on the 25th of February, as well as his own narrative, that he marched first to Dingwall, and in a day or two afterwards proceeded northwards as far as Alness. Here he was met by an express going to Inverness from whom he ascertained that Lord Loudon had already crossed over into Sutherland, and had taken all the available boats with him. Lord Cromartie who had in the meantime joined his son, continued his march, and with part of the troops pushed on to New Tarbat, ordering the remainder to follow. By instructions received there from headquarters, however, he was ordered to return to Inverness, and next day they marched as far as Dingwall, leaving the Stewarts of Appin and the Macgrigors at Fowlis, with the view of forcing contributions in meal and money from the loyalists there. He thus returned to Dingwall with his own small command, having in Ferindonald, within easy call, 300 men. While at Dingwall he received a letter from the Secretary, dated 28th February, informing him that Ross of Pitcalnie had undertaken to raise a number of his men for the Prince's service, and solicited a party of the troops in Dingwall to support him. Lord Cromartie is next told in a letter from headquarters, dated March 1st that His Highness does not think it advisable in present circumstances to send any more forces against Loudon. He is, however, counselled to keep on his guard, and if forced to retreat to remember that the

Frasers are in the vicinity of Beauly in support. Abut this time, it would appear, Lord Loudon had recrossed into Ross, probably in quest of intelligence, the knowledge of which fact had reached Inverness, for Sheridan wrote on the 3rd March apprising Cromartie, and also that the Prince had resolved to send the Glengarry, the Clanranald, and the Appin regiment across, so as to be at hand should occasion call for it, with instructions that they be quartered in Ferintosh; by which means two purposes would be served: by one march they might reach Inverness or Tain, as the case might require, and, until thus called on, they could be usefully employed in eating up the enemy—President Forbes's tenantry. On the same day, and from the same writer, he had an urgent demand for meal wherewith to feed the troops about Inverness, to which the Earl gave immediate effect by publishing the following:—

Pass and Protection from the Earl of Cromartie.

By George, Earl of Cromartie, Commander-in-Chief for His Royal Highness, Charles, Prince of Wales Army, north of the River Buley, and all others whom it concerns, to allow all and sundry, the heritors, tenants, and possessors of the shire of Ross that are employed in carrying their farm meal, to pass and return from Inverness to their respective homes without any molestation to themselves, servants, horses, etc., hereby certifying that such as countervent these, or give them disturbance of any kind, shall be highly culpable, and punished accordingly. Given at Dingwall this 7th March, 1746.—Cromartie.

On the same day he had another letter from Sheridan, ordering him to continue for the present in Dingwall, because of its convenience as a centre from which to send out parties to raise contributions in money and kind for the Prince's service. On the 8th of March he had a letter from O'Sullivan ordering him to have his troops ready for passing in review before a Captain Slack, who was coming for the double purpose of reporting on their efficiency and paying them. On the 11th March the Earl is informed by a letter from Sheridan that a Presbyterian minister was about to cross into Ross who was strongly suspected of being a spy in the employ of Loudon, whom he was instructed to watch. On the 15th March Cromartie is ordered by command of the Prince to proceed to Tain, as the more convenient place for watching Loudon's movements, seeing that circumstances did not allow of pursuing him; and to Tain he accordingly marched. It thus appears that with the

exception of one night spent with his command at New Tarbat, he was quartered from the 20th of February to the 15th of March in the neighbourhood of Dingwall, and in almost daily communication with the headquarter's staff at Inverness, who, of course, were wholly to blame if the occupying by the Earl of his own bed during that period is to be considered a breach of discipline. In Tain the Earl was virtually superseded by the Duke of Perth, the extent of whose achievements consisted of surprising two weak, half-starved companies which Loudon left in Dornoch, boats for the purpose having been procured from the Moray coast. (These companies were taken to Inverness and subjected to much ill usage by the insurgents). On the 17th Cromartie, still nominally as Commander-in-Chief, had a letter from Sheridan intimating that the Prince saw nothing unreasonable in the project of crossing the firth and attacking and dispersing Loudon in Sutherland, and was resolved on having it done.

Thereupon the Earl crossed, himself in command, and while the main body pushed on towards the Little Ferry, Lord Macleod, at the head of a detachment, quartered them that night in Lord Duffus' house of Skelbo, and thence joined the main body next day. They saw no enemy wherewith to engage, the Earl of Sutherland having crossed over to Banff with one or more companies, ordering the rest to their homes, but to remain in readiness for eventualities. Lord Macleod was dispatched into the interior to collect contributions and men, but without success so far as Sutherland was concerned. After calling upon the people of Caithness to meet him at a certain rendezvous, so as to be enrolled in the service of the Prince, but twenty or thirty indifferent recruits appeared, whom Lord Macleod civilly allowed to go home. At Thurso, he tells us, he was joined by the Baloan and Dundonnell men from Lochbroom, who had not made up their minds to come out until then, the poor fellows merely serving to swell the crowd of prisoners taken shortly after at Little Ferry. The Duke of Perth in the meantime returned with most of the insurgent troops to Inverness, leaving the Earl of Cromartie with his small detachment to keep the loyalists of Sutherland in check.

While the Earl of Cromartie was making a show of coercing the loyal Cattich, he was otherwise improving the occasion. "He collected some money," a mystery which, when the period and the district is

considered, we do not profess to understand; "emptied the Dunrobin stables of a score of good horses; exercised severities on some officers of the militia who had fallen in his way, and supplied what targets were awanting to his force by manufacturing them out of the leather of the Earl of Sutherland's carriages."

Three days before Culloden Cromartie received orders to rejoin the insurgent army, a movement which a portion of "Forbes's completely broken up Companies" resolved should not take place. Next day the Earl, having paraded his party, gave it the word to march, while he himself, his son, and principal officers returned to the Castle to have another glass of wine-Scott would have it that the attraction was the performance of a mountebank-and into the interval thus formed between commander and command, John Mackay, a Golspie innkeeper, passed with a sergeants' party of the Independent Companies. Earl finding himself and his friends in this way hopelessly entrapped. endeavoured with the assistance of his hostes to conceal himself. Countess of Sutherland, unwilling that a friend and neighbour should be made a prisoner in her house, and being, like many of her charming sex and her kindred of the House of Wymiss, Jacobite in politics, went so far as to place the captured Earl in her own bedroom, persuaded that no Sutherland man would dare to invade the sanctity of that place. But Lieutenant Mackay—who had arrived at this juncture—and acting under orders from the Earl of Sutherland, ordered the door, which the Countess had locked, to be broken open in spite of her remonstrances, and Cromartie and the other officers were made prisoners.

As the Mackenzies were approaching the Little Ferry they found themselves, while without a commander, beset by a superior force of the Independent Companies, and in a very few minutes the 178 men which constituted this "regiment" were forced to ground their arms and surrender themselves prisoners of war. The Hound, sloop of war, which happened to be in the offing, was communicated with, the rank and file were first embarked, and next the Earl and his friends, all arriving at Inverness two days after Culloden. Rather a smart feat this "for the completely broken up Companies upon which Forbes had expended so much zeal and exertion!"

By those implicated in the insurrection and who had fallen into the hands of the Government—as every one knows—there was a heavy bill

of costs to pay, but that incurred by the people of Ross, noblemen and commoners, will alone be referred to here. We already saw one of the officers having his life granted him at the instance of Mr Robertson, and in the narrative from which we have borrowed, and also at that gentleman's intercession, one at least of the rank and file receives a pardon, but with respect to the fate of the rest, with the exception of the Earl and his son, we regret having no information to offer.

The Earl pled guilty before his peers, and in a pathetic speech referred to his numerous family, his unborn child, his unfortunate wife, becoming in these dreadful circumstances a widow, and concluded by throwing himself on their lordship's compassion. Since, however, the law was clear, they had no alternative but to award him the doom of a traitor, which the Chancellor in fitting terms accordingly pronounced.

Great efforts were immediately set on foot to procure him a pardon from the king. The Countess went about delivering petitions to the Lords of Privy Council, bespeaking their intercession, and on the following Sunday morning went in deep mourning to Kensington Palace to make a personal appeal to His Majesty. When the interesting condition of the lady is remembered no more powerful mode of intercession could well be devised. She fell at the king's feet, seized the hem of his coat, presented her petition, and fainted away. The king tenderly raised her up with his own hand, handed the petition for future consideration to the Duke of Grafton, then in attendance, and requested Lady Stair, who had accompanied the Countess, to conduct her to an apartment where care might be taken of her. The petition came up for consideration, and several mitigating circumstances, not existing in the cases of the others were found; the result being that the Earl's pardon passed the Great Seal on the 9th of August, burdened with the condition of his spending the remainder of his days in Devonshire, where he died in very straightened circumstances, to the last lamenting his distance from Castle Leod and the peerless strath of the Peffery.

By the advice of his uncle, Sir John Gordon of Invergordon, Lord Macleod pled guilty, requesting also that he might be allowed to remain in the Tower—probably to keep his father company—until the day of his trial, a favour which was granted by the king, through the Attorney-General. A true bill was found against him, and on his trial, instead of pleading his extreme youth—he was still under age—he pled guilty,

and threw himself on the mercy of his king and country. He made an excellent impression by his neat little speech, which concluded by an undertaking that if His Majesty should see fit in his goodness to extend to him his compassion, the remainder of his life would be devoted to his service.

Thirteen months after the trial Lord Macleod was granted a free pardon, but under the condition that within six months after attaining his majority he should convey to the Crown all right and claim which he had to any of the estates of the Earldom of Cromarty, so that the Crown might possess them the same as if he had been attainted for high treason. With these conditions Lord Macleod complied, and resolving to be a burden on no one, proceeded to the Continent in quest of military service. Having reached Berlin he was received with enthusiasm by his countryman, Marshal Keith, the valued personal friend and general of the Great Frederick, and through the Marshal's influence he obtained a commission in the Swedish army. distressing to think that his means were at that time so limited that he had not the wherewithal to equip himself for the service, but on the recommendation of Lord George Murray, Prince Charles Edward sent him a sufficient sum for the purpose. He amply fulfilled the high expectations entertained of him by the service he rendered to the Swedish Crown during the next twenty-seven years.

It will presently be our pleasant duty to refer to his lordship's return home, and by service rendered to his native country so commending himself to the Government that the family estates were restored to him on favourable conditions.

Thus, so far as Ross was concerned, the affair of the '45 took end. Though, as we saw, many of its people took the side of the Government in that quarrel, it is gratifying to know that its soil remained unstained by Highland blood, and though a small section of the population became involved in the inevitable penalties, there was matter for congratulation in the fact that the chieftain by whom they were led escaped the doom which overtook Lovat, Kilmarnock, and Balmerino.

Pennant in his gossipy tour (1676), remarks, "That there is not an instance in the country having so sudden a change in its morals as that of the Highlands; security and civilization now possesses every part; yet thirty years have not elapsed since the whole was a den of thieves

of the most extraordinary kind." Confessedly, there existed some foundation for this deliverance, though indicating one of those first impressions which even a brief residence might serve to modify. The people had indeed settled down to such industries as existed, while robbery by "broken men" in organised bands had almost ceased, but there was still much unrest, for the ties which had hitherto held upper and lower orders together were permanently severed. But into the new order of things a potent social factor had been introduced, the Sheriff had come to supersede for all time the equivocal rule of the Lochiels, the Keppochs, and the Clan-Ranalds.

Pennant's dictum is liable to a further discount with respect to the area wherein he says thievery was practiced. The Laich of Moray, the Machair of Ross, and all Sutherland and Caithness had, long before the '45, gone out of the Cateran business, and during the era in question, with the people of Angus and Mearns, were simply fellow-sufferers from the depredations of the Camerons of Lochaber, and, those examplary Christians, the ever-to-be-lamented Macdonalds of Glencoe. And there was vet another factor in the situation overlooked by Pennant: lovalty to the dynasty de facto had entirely superseded that formerly existing towards dynasty de jure, and in a manner which left no room for doubt. In the National Forces during the last thirty years of the 18th and first fifteen of the 19th century, the Highland soldiery formed a conspicuous and valued element, while, as if to give emphasis to the fact, such devotion as survived towards the Stewarts served merely to inspire their songs and romances. In point of fact there had assembled around the National banners of the Highland manhood during that period thrice the numbers which at any one time had taken up arms at the call of the former dynasty; the great Empire at the same time taking the valiant Gael to his heart in a manner which, to the "Sassenach" of fifty years previous, would be as unconceivable as the resuscitation of Druidism.

Reference has already been made to the Independent Companies, a number of which went to form the nucleus of the 42nd Royal Highlanders, now known as the Black Watch, but as it was in existence previous to the '45, and made for itself a European reputation at Fontenoy, we shall pass it over.

The first corps raised in Ross for the National Army was the Macleod Highlanders, the existing 71st, formerly the 74th, to which a

second battalion was soon after added, and since the occasion was, and is, of considerable interest to the Province, it calls for mention here.

John, Lord Macleod, out, as we saw, in the '45 when but turned nineteen, returned to England from Sweden in 1777, having previously made for himself a reputation by his excellent conduct in the army of that country, and on being presented to Court, was received with marked distinction by George the Third. His lordship shortly afterwards came north on a visit to those broad lands of his fathers which had been thrown away in forwarding the interests of a family who thought that the best blood of Scotland was their private property, and not too good to be spilt in their interest by the executioner. Jacobitism, as we have said, was by that time almost extinct in the Highlands, but not so the fealty of the people of the confiscated estates towards one whom they deemed their rightful Land Father, natural protector, and guide. Their genuine expressions of affection touched the heart of the landless soldier, but in the eyes of the friend who accompanied him-Colonel Duff of Muirton-those feelings suggested the possibility of the restoration of the estates through their instrumentality. suggestion and in gratitude for the reception he had met with from the king, his lordship offered his services to the Government towards raising a regiment in the Highlands. His offer was accepted, and though unable to offer any other inducement than a pittance of bounty money, to call together the tenantry that might have been his own, point out the contingents each family or township was expected to furnish, and the thing was done.—(Dr C. Fraser Mackintosh's Historical Notes). No difficulties whatever were raised with respect to legal rights or clan duties, 840 men came forward with the docility of conscripts, assembled in Elgin, and were put into regimental shape there. Commissions were at the same time given to Captain the Hon. John Lindsay; David Baird-("oor Davie" of Seringapatam); James Fowlis, and others, who raised among them 236 Lowlanders, who with 34 English and Irish, brought up the strength of the new corps to 1100 men. In 1778 they were inspected by General Skene, and passed into the line. About this time letters of service were issued for raising a second battalion, which was speedily executed, the men from Ross, in both corps, amounting to 1800 Highlanders of especially robust constitution and of examplary character.

The first battalion, under Lord Macleod, embarked for India in January, 1779, and were just a year reaching Madras; the second, under George Mackenzie, Lord Macleod's brother, disembarking at Gibralter on the same day.

It is difficult to say which of those two young battalions, during the first years of their existence, reaped the weightiest laurels. The first, from the time of its landing in India became engaged in the desperate struggle with Hyder Ali, and subsequently with his son, Tipoo Sultaun, in which the fate of Southern India trembled for years in the balance; nor did it terminate until the Tiger of Mysore had perished in the gate of his capital. The second formed part of the garrison of Gibralter during its historic siege, and what heroism that implied the student of military history does not require to be told. They were, however, disbanded in 1802.

It does not fall within the scope of the present work to follow further the fortunes of the Macleod Highlanders, except to remark that shortly after the battle of Conjeveram, their Colonel, Lord Macleod, returned home. It was his belief that his superior officer (Sir Hector Munro of Novar) had so blundered by a precipitate retreat as to occasion the destruction of the two flank companies of the regiment; the latter officer, however, gave such feasible reasons for his depositions that he was merely superseded in the chief command by the abler Sir Eyre Coote.

On appearing at Court Lord Macleod was received with even greater distinction than before; better still, the Government, inspired by his friends, Pitt and Dundas, took up his pecuniary interests in earnest. He had, before leaving India, been promoted to the rank of Major-General, and now an Act of Parliament was passed by which the Act of Forfeiture was cancelled and the estates restored to him on payment of £19,000 to cover arrears and other burdens. To have redeemed the ancestral properties in this splendid manner may be said to have more than wiped out the thoughtless family escapade by which they had been forfeited, while it added the lustre of heroic and successful endeavour to the family name. He died in 1789, we regret to say without issue, leaving the estates to his cousin, Captain Mackenzie of Cromartie.

The next corps raised in the county of Ross was what has been termed "The Old 78th," subsequently known as the 72nd, or the Duke

of Albany's Own Highlanders, and now as the 1st Battalion of the Seaforth Highlanders.

We have seen Kenneth Mackenzie—by courtesy, Lord Fortrose—restored on tolerably easy conditions to the Family estates, and the steady loyalty he exhibited in return to the House of Brunswick, amid the exciting circumstances of the '45. That loyalty was not forgotten, though its tardy recognition did not occur until his lordship had slept with his fathers, and was buried in the Abbey of Westminster. However, soon after his son, Kenneth, had succeeded to the family estates a restoration of the family honours took place. After two previous steps in the peerage he was created, in 1771, Lord Seaforth in the peerage of Ireland, and the joy of the aglomeration of septs which went to form the Clan Mackenzie was naturally very great.

As a proof of his gratitude for this gracious and public act he, in 1778, offered to raise a regiment for the public service, to be commanded by himself. His offer was accepted, and a fine body of 1130 men, 500 of the 900 Highlanders being raised upon his personal estates, the remainder being from those of his relatives, the Mackenzies of Scatwell, Kilcoy, Redcastle, and Applecross. He was also granted the nomination of the officers, and those from the south to whom he gave commissions brought with them 187 Lowlanders and 43 English and Irish—the latter by no means a desirable leven, as subsequent events showed. The Macraes of Kintail were so numerous in the new regiment that for a period it was known as the "Macras." It was embodied in Elgin, there inspected by General Skene, and so careful had been the choice of men that not one was rejected. In the Letter of Service Seaforth had been designated Lieutenant-Colonel, while the new regiment was designated the 78th, or Ross-shire Regiment of Highlanders.

In the month of August, 1779, the regiment marched to Leith, preparatory to embarking for the East Indies, but not long after a spirit of discontent began to manifest itself. The chief cause was said to be the restraints of discipline, but what the men complained most of was that the engagements under which the Government came to them had been infringed, and that their pay and bounty was in arrear. Seaforth in "propia persona" they also found to be a different person from the Seaforth of tradition and sentiment, and he appears to have incurred their absolute contempt. (See Appendix). They had also

heavy complaints to urge against their adjutant, whose one panacea for all the ills of life seems to have been drill, and yet more drill.

Their discontent was further stimulated by the enemies of the Government who, in secret, represented that they had been sold to the East Indian Company, and were to be sent to a pestilential climate from whence not one man in a hundred would come home alive.

When the day of embarkation came those who had been quartered in Edinburgh Castle refused to go on board the transports, and under command of their non-commissioned officers, marched up to a position on Arthur's Seat, preceded by their pipers, and with two plaids affixed to poles by way of colours. They were not allowed to starve while there. Many of the people of Edinburgh and Leith made their cause their own, while the well-to-do, in terror of having such a number of armed and bewildered mountaineers let loose upon them, saw to it that they lacked neither meat nor drink.

The causes of complaint having been inquired into by such friendly investigators as the Earl of Dunmore, Sir James Grant of Grant, and other gentlemen from the Highlands, with guarantees given for their removal, the soldiers were satisfied, and marched down to Leith with Dunmore, Seaforth, and General Skene at their head. The military authorities, on a true representation of the case, wisely took no official notice of the "Affair of the Macras," as this episode in military history came to be termed.

The regiment embarked with the greatest cheerfulness a few days after, and the intention of sending them to India being for the present abandoned, the right wing was sent to Guernsey, the left to Jersey.

By the end of April, 1781, however, the exigencies of the public service required that they should be sent to India, and having been assembled at Portsmouth they embarked for that country, 973 rank and file.

On their way out they lost their Colonel, Seaforth, he having died within sight of St Helena, while during the protracted vovage, not only did they loose 247 men with scurvy, but the survivors had become so debilitated by the time they landed at Madras that 369 men only were able to stagger under arms. When these reached the army at Chingleput the greater part were sent into quarters as invalids, while the remainder were incorporated with the Macleod Highlanders.

Under careful treatment, however, most of the men recovered, so that before the end of October 600 men were reported fit for duty, and sent up to the Mysore country to reinforce the army under Colonel Fullerton.

About this time, and in consequence of the death of his cousin, Lord Seaforth, Colonel Humberston Mackenzie was transferred from the rooth Regiment to command the 78th, at the same time succeeding to the chiefship of the Clan, but not to the titles. He did not enjoy either honour long. He died on the 7th of April, 1783, while a passenger from Bombay, of wounds previously received on board the Ranger Sloop of War, when in action with a Mahratta fleet.

It would be altogether foreign to our plan to give even a list of the services which this distinguished corps rendered to their country.

Having been raised for a three years', or while the war lasted, service, the number of men who now claimed their discharge reduced its effectiveness to 125 rank and file, but by volunteers from other regiments its strength was, in a short time, augmented to 700 men. Thus, as the 72nd, the number it has since borne in the army list, the regiment became again an efficient corps, and from that time forward has not ceased to confer distinction on the county of its origin.

The 78th, or Ross-shire Buffs,* the third existing regiment which had its origin in the Palatine County, was raised through the influence of the last of the Seaforths, in three successive battalions, their respective Letters of Service dating 7th March, 1793; 10th February, 1794; and 17th April, 1804; the second and third after a time becoming amalgamated with the first.

As in the case of the Macleod, we shall not here recount the various achievements of what is now known as the Second Battalion of the Seaforth Highlanders; but since, as the 78th, and by the conduct at the Battle of Assaye, they have cut their number deep in the history

^{*} Since the above was written a detachment of the gallant Ross-shire Buffs, numbering four hundred—mostly natives of the Highlands and Islands—under Lieut.-Col. Hughes-Hallet, D.S.O., marched through Ross (August, 1899), their first appearance there in force since their embodiment over a century ago, and were received by all classes along the route with the greatest enthusiasm. To both officers and men it must have been made apparent that nowhere else was their splendid record so warmly appreciated as in the county of their origin, where, indeed, if the fitness of things were at all considered, their depot should be established, and where (when quartered in Scotland) they themselves should have their home.

of India; and since, after many readings descriptive of this action both by soldiers and civilians, the combined effect of which has been to leave a mere blurr upon the mind, we here purpose by a careful study of the various narratives, and by means of several plans, to set before the reader what we hope will be considered an intelligible account of an engagement, which Thackeray was not singular in thinking, that, considering the means at his disposal, and the forces overcome, it was Wellington's greatest battle. We may premise that our chief reliance will be placed on Mount-Stewart Elphinstone's letters, that open-eyed gentleman being secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, and present at his side from first to last.

The enemy then threatening the very existence of our Indian Empire was the combined armies of Scindia and that of the Rajah of Berar, numbering together 30,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry, all well disciplined by European officers, some of them even English!

They entered the territories of our tributary, the Nizam, on the 24th of August, by the Adjunteh Pass, or Ghat, and were known to occupy the country between the Pass and Jalnah. General Wellesley's plan of operations was to bring the enemy to a general action as soon as possible, and if successful to drive them out of the Nizam's country and secure the passes.

On the 21st of September, General Wellesley met Colonel Stevenson at Badnapoor, and on being informed by the spies ("selected for their stupidity," M. E.) that the enemy was at Bokerdhun, thirty miles away, it was resolved to make three marches and fall on them the same day. On the third day after, the force under General Wellesley moved north to Naulnair, and while the camp was being marked out in the early morning, he learned that the enemy was close at hand. He was also (falsely) told that they had sent off all their horse to attack Colonel Stevenson. On hearing this he ordered the cavalry to reassemble, at the same time ordering the infantry to get under arms, and with the former advanced a few miles further to a rising ground, from whence he saw the main body of the enemy in two large and regular camps less than two miles away. Here the General left the cavalry, halted, and rode back to hurry up his infantry, which arrived in about an hour, when the various battalions were shown their places.

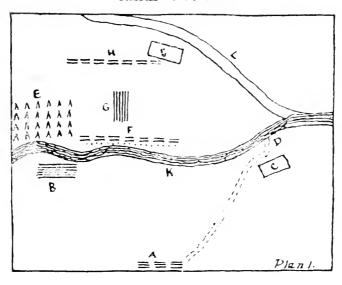
While the General is thus engaged we shall endeavour to describe

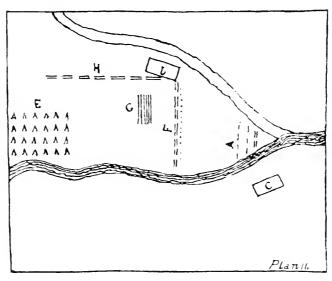
what was at the same time taking place on this side of the Kaitna River, a deep stream, unfordable save at a place about a mile and-a-half to the right. About a thousand paces away to the left front of our halted cavalry, and on this side of the river, was a large body of the enemy's horse commanded by Scindia in person, which after a time advanced about a quarter of a mile, and sent out a few skirmishers, who, before they were driven back by some of our people, succeeded in killing a horse. These did our troops no further harm, and appeared to have moved away, Scindia, no doubt, thinking that the great force drawn up on the other side of the stream were sufficient to give a good account of the "General of the five Regiments," as he derisively termed Wellesley.

The sketch of the battle-field given by that General indicates the first position taken up by the enemy. One-half of his infantry was extended a little in rear of the rocky bank of the river, and comprised about ten thousand men, and between them and the river from seventy to eighty pieces of cannon were placed in position, sending occasionally a shot the way of our troops. One of their camps was laid out immediately in rear of this line, and further to the rear, and at a distance of about 600 paces from the first, their second line of infantry, about equal in number, was drawn up in reserve, their left resting on the defences of the village of Assaye, while in its rear, and at a distance varying from one hundred to two hundred yards, lay the Joee nulla, a dry water-course that served to give its peninsular form to this famous battle-field. Their cavalry, 30,000 at least, were drawn up in masses on the right on the camp referred to, their particular camp being at some distance away in the same direction. These turned out to be more formidable in appearance than in reality, their very numbers and the confined space wherein they could manœuvre being against them. cavalry achievements may be summed up in a sentence or two: a portion delivered a pretty successful charge at an early stage of the battle, but for the rest of the day they idled about, and were the first to fly. The numerous artillery of the enemy was, however, well served, and did much execution early in the battle, disposing effectually of our seventeen pieces, from which we have the word of the General that not more than 100 rounds were fired.

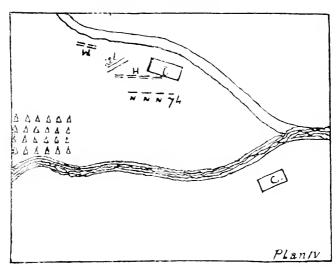
While he himself was away hurrying up the infantry, the General had

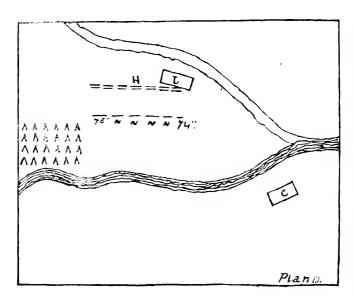
BATTLE OF ASSAYE





BATTLE OF ASSAYE





instructed the inspection of the ground in front, and the finding of a ford whereat to cross, to Captain Johnstone of the Engineers, "a very zealous, active, cool, useful man," who on the return of his commander duly reported the result of his investigations. He had found a road practicable for guns, and a ford in the neighbourhood of a village on the near side of the river, and not far from the apex of the peninsula. (See plan No. 1).

Before following our countrymen to the assault of this formidable position, let us see what their number amounted to. They appeared to be few enough in all conscience! The General, in first coming in sight of the enemy, saw that in depending upon his spies he had made a mistake, but as he afterwards explained, in the hearing of Elphinstone, to retreat in the presence of such a force of cavalry was a vastly greater danger than to encounter infantry and cavalry combined, and the event proved the sure-footedness of his judgment. "He said one morning that 'so and so would have happened if we had been beat, and then I would have made a gallows of my ridge pole and have hanged myself."

Wellesley's ablest subordinate was the gallant Colonel Maxwell, commander of the four regiments of horse, which numbered at most 1200 men; two of these, the 19th and 4th, were excellent, and on these the burden of the fighting fell; the other two functed it badly, so that at the crisis of the action, Major Huddleston, the commander of one of them, was heard crying out, "Where is my regiment?" The excuse given for these was that both were newly raised, and had never been in action before.

The British infantry engaged consisted of the 74th, 560 effectives; the 78th, Ross-shire Buffs, 600 effectives; four battalions of native infantry, consisting of 500 effectives each, and one battalion, numbers not stated, formed of picquets; artillery, 150 men; pioneers, numbers not given; the whole force numbering slightly over 5000 men.

Our troops had up to now marched on a line perpendicular to the centre of that of the enemy; the new direction was to the right, and at an obtuse angle to the former, so as to strike the ford and form for the attack towards the enemy's left. The obvious intention of this manœuvre was at once detected by these, and the excellence of their discipline was at once made apparent by the celerity with which a new alignment was taken at right angles to their former position, their left

now leaning upon Assaye and their right on the Kaitna; their artillery accompanying the evolution with corresponding celerity, and at once proceeded to open fire on the British lines forming for the attack, to which we shall now return. (See plan No. 2).

The chief trouble experienced by our people at the ford was the getting the guns across, but that was at last done, and shortly after, and while the lines of attack were in course of formation, they proceeded to reply, but were speedily reduced to silence by the numerous pieces of the enemy. The first line of the British, counting from the left, or river bank, was formed of the 78th, two native battalions, and the battalion of picquets, unhappily commanded by an incapable fool, whose name has been in mercy suppressed. This latter was named the battalion of direction, and in order to give as wide a berth as possible to the enemy clustered around Assaye, who were to be attended to afterwards, he was ordered to march perpendicular to his front, but instead of doing so, he, during the half-mile to be traversed, so inclined to the right, as to come in front of that village where, it is presumed, he halted. The second line was formed-still counting from the left-of two native battalions and the 74th, the latter overlapping by a few companies the battalion of picquets in front; the third line was formed of the cavalry, the immediate duty before it being to protect the flank of the 74th. The general principle impressed on both armies being to avoid distant fighting, and to come to close quarters with the bayonet and sabre.

All seems to have gone well with the 78th and the two native battalions, for on coming into contact with the enemy a few volleys and close view of steel set these aflying, some away altogether, while others were made to rally upon the reserve line, who up to this did not fire a shot. But matters went otherwise with the gallant 74th. By the misbehaviour of the battalion of direction a wide gap of a dangerous character was formed into which the 74th had to pass, which brought upon it a tremendous fire of artillery and small arms, and next, the one charge of cavalry which the enemy made. The 74th would have literally been wiped off the army list but for the splendid charge of the cavalry under Maxwell by means of which the survivors were extricated, the enemy's cavalry scattered, and the battle restored.

At this stage of the fight there seems to have been a good deal of confusion elsewhere also. The General and his staff were advancing

on what they took to be our first line, when a gun was fired at them. Somebody said, "Sir! that is the enemy's line!" The General said, "Is it? Ha, damme so it is." They, however, soon found their own. At this point, with the remnant of the 74th as the new flank, the native battalions were formed in prolongation so as to form a line parallel with that of the still unbroken reserve line of the enemy, the 78th working round to its original position—the left flank. Manifestly there was a good deal of serious fighting here, both of shooting and charging, and not always successful. The bulk of the enemy stood firm, those only which were charged by the 78th giving way, and while seeking the shelter of the Joee nulla close by, Maxwell, who had been waiting an opportunity to charge, did so now with great effect. Here the General in person reformed the 78th, and supporting them with one of the native battalions, hurled the Ross-shire lads against the flank and rear of the still unbroken reserve of the enemy. The 78th could not be denied, but the foemen were worthy of their steel; they moved off in soldier-like array, a fact sufficiently established by this other; Maxwell having got his people out of the Nulla charged this force, but was driven off, himself at that moment been slain. The next move of the 78th was towards the centre of the peninsula, where they captured 57 pieces of the enemy's cannon at a stroke. This finished the battle; there was, of course, no pursuit, everybody was too exhausted for that, but the enemy seems to have scattered in all directions of themselves, 200 alone remaining together as an organised force.

All agree that this was the bloodiest battle, up to the period of the conquest of Scinde, ever fought in India. Cuddalore is the only one, Elphinstone says, he ever heard compared to it, but there our forces consisted of 12,000, and their loss but 600 killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy at Assaye was most severe. The bodies of 1200 were buried on the field, while their wounded was estimated at 3000. The 78th, though doing the heaviest part of the fighting, were fortunate in having to bear but a small proportion of the loss. They had Lieut. Douglas and 27 men killed, and four officers, four sergeants, and seventy-three men wounded. The 74th, however, had eleven officers, nine sergeants, and 127 rank and file killed; seven officers, eleven sergeants, seven drummers, and 270 rank and file wounded. Our loss altogether being 1548, of which 600 were Europeans.

It was the hap of the present writer, in his very early days, to be acquainted with three veterans who fought at Assaye. One of these was a Donald Maciver, a native of the Lewis, who, on getting his discharge, married in Dingwall, and settled there. He also acted as pilot to the vessels using the harbour. The other two were from the banks of the Peffery. Sergeant Colin Stewart, of the 74th, was a wiry middle-sized man, and occasionally, when in the talking mood, would refer to the slaughter of Assaye. He has repeatedly referred to the fact that at roll-call on the evening of the battle the light company was represented by five men, of whom he was one. He lived for many years in Dingwall, in receipt, for a person of his rank, of a very high pension; the Clive Fund, it is probable, being drawn upon for some part of it.

Sergeant Alexander Bain, of the 78th, was to the last a big, powerful man, and for his conspicuous gallantry at the taking of Java, where he was the first who entered the works of the enemy, he was, though illiterate, promoted to the rank of sergeant, and retired on the corresponding pension. To his dying day he was known all over the district by his alias of "Java," to which he answered as readily as his own name. On falling out of the ranks at Assaye he, like many others, was consumed with thirst, but, happily, the Kaitna River, though decidedly sanguinary in hue, was not far off. Taking hold of the only vessel at hand, a tin pail which had once contained tar, the lubricant then used for gun axles, he descended the rocky bank, and having filled the unsavoury utensil, regained the level ground and proceeded to quench his thirst. While thus engaged a mounted officer rode up and cried: -- "Spare a little, my lad." "Java" at once handed the pail to the officer, whom he now recognised as his General. Wellesley showed no symptoms of squeamishness—the then vaunted virtues of tar water, no doubt, assisting-placed the pail to his lips and all but emptied it. Handing back the utensil with thanks to his entertainer, he rode off in the direction of the village of Assaye, where we know, from Elphinstone, that he passed the night. Bain was always remarkably reticent regarding his achievements both in India and Java, but nothing was easier than to draw him out with respect to the occasion when he had the honour of entertaining the future pacificator of Europe with Tar Water!

CHAPTER XXIII.

As most people are aware, the battle of Culloden was an era making event to the greater part of Scotland, and particularly to the Highlands. In the latter district, and in the first place, it served to annihilate what had survived of the Clan system, reducing such Chiefs as had not been compromised from the position of Satraphs to that of impecunious owners of much unproductive land, and in the next, the displacing of patriarchal by the commercial principle involved to the humbler orders (until then under the belief that their rights to a living on that land was undefeasable), a long succession of hardships. Disillusionment had, however, become inevitable, for the Chiefs, being no longer the arbiters—real or imaginary—between the opposing dynasties, it followed that with their respective "tails" the carrying of arms as a rent-paying trade had necessarily become obsolete. Expatriation had thus to the general horror become an imminent expedient. Soon after, too, the astonished people were made aware that they had now to do with a Government, not only liable to hysterical alarms, but to the devising of hysterical measures of security. For example, under that impulse, it decreed the disarming of the loyal and disloyal Clans alike, and not only so, but prohibited under severe penalties the wearing of picturesque national dress. Naturally, therefore, in the absence of adequate police arrangements, the men felt it well to be angry by being rendered defenceless against broken men whom the Rebellion had let loose, but the complaints of the women were still more vehement, for by the law forbidding the manufacture of tartan, their dearest ambition, that of having their husbands and brothers handsomely dressed in the products of home industry, had to be set aside. It is, perhaps, difficult to see how exceptions to the general rule could be made without increasing the

confusion, but it was fortunate that during that generation the Government had no second occasion for assistance from the loyal Highlanders of Ross, for without doubt it would be refused. But that the hearts of their children continued warm towards the tartan and the glories therewith associated, it is clear from the fact that before the close of the century and on the national demand, five battalions of Highlanders, each a thousand strong, were raised successively in the Province.

Unlike the measures referred to, that abolishing Heritable Jurisdiction was an unmixed good, for it not only put the administration of justice upon a rational footing, but the money granted by way of compensation was not without reason credited with the inauguration of those agricultural improvements which have altered the whole face of the Highlands.

Reference has been made to the hardships following the abrogation of the Clan system, and which will receive more extended notice when attention is directed to that wholesale depopulation of our straths and glens which disgraced the closing years of the 18th and the first thirty years of the 19th century; but here in the inevitable absence of the social annals of the Province it may be well to point out the agencies which seem during the transition period to have been mainly instrumental in giving that specific character to the people which is now so visible in their descendants.

On this point no one who has given serious thought to the subject has any doubt but that the first place is due to a succession of eminent ministers of the Gospel, usually settled far apart over the wide Province, and always in a minority. That succession included such names as Porteous, Kilmuir; the Frasers, Alness; Sage, Lochcarron, Robertson, and subsequently Dr Ross, of Lochbroom; Balfour, of Nigg; the Mackintoshes, of Tain; Calder, and Dr Macdonald of Ferintosh; Macphail, and subsequently Sage, Resolis; Kennedy, Redcastle; Carment, Rosskeen; Allan, Kincardine, etc.

Following close upon these ministers were "The Men," that is, laymen of the Donald Ross, of Nigg, order, eminent for piety, and frequently for talent as well, then, and after, abounding in most parishes; a moral and spiritual leven the value of which it would be difficult to over-estimate. Regarding "The Men" a good deal has been written both of an eulogistic and a depreciative character, the former not

always distinguished for wisdom, and the latter, oftener than not, distinctly foolish, but writing from personal knowledge of the class when at their best we hesitate not to affirm, that though sometimes in their public utterances, and when dealing with the men and manners of the time they showed an aptness for sarcasm, to them far more than to the local pulpiteer was due that during the period in question vice was kept in check, a high standard of morals maintained, and eternal verities remained a force upon the hearts and consciences of the people. The ominous fact, however, is, that though the term is still applied to an existing noisy class, of late years the type is swiftly becoming, if it has not already become, as extinct as a dodo!

And finally, among the humanising agencies at work, the Parochial School demands particular mention. In most cases, it is true, they were of a primitive type, the curriculum confined to the teaching of the "Three R's.," but when the time and the district are considered, these branches even were of inestimable value. For, ability to read gave access not only to the best of all Books (the Bible was for generations the leading school Book), but to secular works, with all the possibilities which that access implied; while ability to write, among other advantages, served to keep stayers-at-home in touch and sympathy with those of the township or family fighting the battles of life in other districts or beyond the seas, connecting in that way the hitherto isolated strath or glen with the great world itself, and ultimately leading to the assimilation of the belated Highlander himself with the ubiquitous and masterful British race.

Further, and with reference to the more mundane interests of the people, the advent of and the teaching by example furnished by scientific agriculturists went far to make the men of Ross the excellent farmers they are known to be. In cannot be denied that in many instances the measures adopted to give the incomers the required opportunity bore with disastrous effect on smaller occupiers, but it is obvious that when the interests of the entire district is considered the lessons taught justified the sacrifice in question, while corresponding returns from new methods proved little by little to a people somewhat slow to learn that the time-honoured ways of their fathers having little but antiquity to commend them had better be set aside. The next generation, thus put upon their metal, found that the struggle for existence was in all

conscience arduous enough, but, on acquiring by these new methods a measure of prosperity, cheerfully relegated regrets that the good old times had passed away to the older people. By these influences combined, superstitions, barbarous habits, grotesque usages, and, it must be admitted, much rude kindliness diminished as successive generations passed over to the majority, while modern ideas, with their acknowledged drawbacks, having come to remain, became supreme.

In a previous chapter reference has been made to the circumstances under which Ross, for the first time, sent a representative to the Imperial Parliament (1707), and a brief description, under the heading of the Dingwall Elecion Riot, was also given of the manner in which, because of its bearings upon Imperial Politics, the Municipal Elecion of 1722 was conducted in that Burgh. It would appear that as a result of the measures then adopted by Sir Hector Munro of Fowlis, he was next year returned member for the Northern Burghs, but as to how or where the election took place we have to profess ignorance.

But a belief in the serviceableness of fire-arms towards the returning of a suitable member of Parliament was, as will be evident from what follows, by no means confined to the people of Ferindonald and their Chief. It would appear that during the first half of the 18th century, and in the matter of County Elections, Fortrose had been assigned the position of returning Burgh, and thither, accordingly, in 1722, the county electorate, which then consisted of but seventy persons, were summoned in order to return a knight of the shire. No more than thirty gentlemen, however, responded to the summons, and what then occurred we shall borrow in narrative form as follows from Chambers' Domestic Annals: - "A representative for Ross having to be chosen, there came the night before, to Fortrose, the greatest man in the North, the Earl of Sutherland, heading a large number of armed and mounted retainers, who made a procession round the streets, while an English sloop-of-war in friendly alliance with him came close to the town and fired its guns. Hundreds of Highlanders, his retainers, at the same time lounged about. The reason for all this display of force was that the opposition interest was then in a decided majority, and a defeat to the Whig candidate impending. Of the thirty-one barons present, eighteen gave votes for General Charles Ross of Balnagown, the remainder going to Captain Alexander Urquhart of Newhall. Hereupon Lord Sutherland's relative and friend, Sir William Gordon of Invergordon, Sheriff of the county, retired with the minority, and went through the form of electing their own man, notwithstanding a protest from the other candidate. Immediately after this separation, Colin Graham of Drynie, one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of the county, came into the Court-House with his sword in his hand, accompanied by Robert Gordon of Haughs and Major John Mackintosh, with some armed Highlanders, whom they posted at the door with drawn swords and cocked-firelocks, and ordered the majority (who had remained to finish the election), in the name of the Earl of Sutherland to remove out of the house, otherwise they must expect worse treatment. Major Mackintosh said they would be dragged out by the heels, upon which the Barons protested against these violent proceedings, declaring their resolution to remain in the Court-House till the election was finished, though at the hazard of their lives, which they accordingly did." Of course, the whole affair was a piece of mere bluff, and both the douce Earl and the Government had to bear the disappointment as they best could.

With respect to the records of subsequent Burgh and County Elections, with one exception, we shall allow the dust to remain undisturbed, but that of 1767, because of the historic character of the leading actor, the light thrown by its sordid details on the manners of the period, and the public enquiry to which, as "The Fortrose Election Scandal," it subsequently led, seems to demand for its story a place in these pages. It is, however, imperative that the reader be first introduced to the leading performer.

Among the builders of our Indian Empire during the latter half of the 18th century Sir Hector Munro of Novar occupied, if not a leading, at least a conspicuous place. He was the son of Hugh Munro, Clayside, near Golspie, that individual being a scion (bar sinister) of the Fowlis Family. Like many of the gentlemen of his name, he early took to soldiering, and after seeing a little service in the Independent Companies he received, through the Duchess of Gordon, or the Earl of Sutherland—it is hard to say which—a commission in the 34th Regiment of the line, and greatly distinguished himself in hunting down the unfortunates who had been out in the '45. That business over he sailed to India, then in sore need of governing and fighting men of talent.

Students of the history of the Great Peninsula are aware that during the interval between Clive's second and third period of service there, its affairs had fallen into the most pitiable state of confusion, relieved somewhat, however, by the yeoman services rendered by Major Carnac, Captain Knox, and Major, afterwards Sir Hector Munro of Novar. Shortly after the battle of Patna, where Camac had beaten the Mogul's rabble army, Major Hector Munro arrived upon the scene with reinforcements, and in virtue of his seniority, assumed command of the Company's forces. He had hardly done so ere he found he had a mutiny of Seapoys to deal with, and he met that most serious difficulty with characteristic promptitude. The ringleaders of the mutinous battalion were apprehended, and by a Court-Martial, mainly composed of their own black officers, found guilty of aggravated mutiny and desertion, of threatening the lives of their English officers, and of being caught in the act of making off by night to the enemy. In view of the public safety it was found that exemplary punishment could not be evaded. imitation of a method long practiced by the Mahrattas, he resolved on blowing the mutineers from the mouths of cannon. A general parade was ordered, and in presence of the whole force the execution went on. After four of the twenty-four had suffered, and while the fifth was being bound to the gun, their Seapoy comrades shouted that the execution would have to cease. Munro, at this crisis, ordered the artillery to load with grape, train their guns upon the native regiments, placed his Europeans in the intervals, and ordered the Seapoys to ground their arms. He was obeyed on the instant, and the execution proceeded. This extreme measure was attended with complete success, and mutinies were at a discount for many years.

A few months later he broke the power of the Nabob of Oude, thence proceeded to Moorshedabad, and brought its ruler, Surajah Dowlah, also to his senses. Previously that potentate had offered him, by way of bribe, twenty-five lacs of rupees for the use of the company, and eight lacs to himself. Munro, however, refused even to treat, unless the capable Sumroo and Meer Cossim, two chiefs who had taken sanctuary at Moorshedabad were first delivered up; but as Surajah's idea of the inviolability of guests would not permit that delivery, the negotiations—creditable to both parties—were broken off. Before they could be resumed Surajah was a fugitive, while his territories were—for a con-

sideration—added to those of the Nabob of Oude. The bulk of his specie found its way into the coffers of the Company, but there can be little doubt that the Government, aware of the whole circumstances, felt that the offer of eight lacs (£80,000), previously made to Major Munro, constituted a lien on Surajah's treasures to that amount, and accordingly placed that handsome sum to our countryman's credit.

Next year (1766) we find the gallant soldier, for the first time, established in his ancestral estate of Novar. Thither, as was usual with his class, he carried much booty, and as a future solatium for a damaged liver he was created a baronet. With respect to his further services in India, which were by no means brilliant, whence and finally he returned in 1782, they may all with safety be omitted from our sketch of Sir Hector's career, more especially as our present concern is with his candidature for the Inverness Burghs, of which the Fortrose Election Scandal formed the leading incident.

That candidature, it is more than probable, had behind it a more powerful impulse than any ambition a bilious Nabob might cherish of cutting a figure in Parliament. He was still a general officer in the service of the East Indian Company, whose method of government—as most readers know—was frequently subjected to acrimonious review in the House of Commons. In consequence it had become a settled policy with the Directors to have there, by way of a steady voting phalanx, as many as possible of their own tried servants; all expenses incurred in procuring the return of their candidates they took upon themselves, and paid out of the Company's funds. Having been considered a candidate in all points suitable, Sir Hector Munro was accordingly held committed to an electioneering campaign, and all that remained to be done was to find a negotiable constituency and set the gold a-flowing.

It soon appeared that neither Ross itself nor the Northern Burghs were at that period in the market, but parties in the trade who had been consulted expressed mysterious hints that the Inverness Burghs might be approached, and that the vendor—the laird of Kilravock—had better be sounded on the subject. This was accordingly done. About that time the representative of that ancient family had found that politics—as a profession—while promising much, returned but little, and besides was in a position which necessitated his parting with certain cantles of

land—Muirton particularly—in the vicinity of Inverness. It was in that way found that the purchase of that property, when accompanied with certain trifling gratifications, would, as a matter, of fact, secure the suffrages of the free and independent voters (the Town Council) of Inverness; and a similar guarantee was given that, in similar circumstances, those of Nairn would follow suit. A bargain was accordingly struck, and Sir Hector Munro became the owner of Muirton and certain subjects in or near Nairn. Thus, two of the four burghs were secured, and the only difficulty remaining was the obtaining hold of another one, when an absolute majority—of Burghs—would make his being returned to Parliament a certainty. For reasons which have not transpired, Fortrose rather than Forres, was chosen as the next field of operation, and since the steps taken to secure a majority of its Town Council were made the subject of Judicial investigation, the authenticity of our narrative in that direction may be relied upon.

Pennant in his Tour makes no reference to the changes incident to Parliamentary and Municipal Elections due to the epoch-making '45, though of at least equal magnitude with any he has specified, and especially so were those which distinguished the Fortrose Parliamentary Election of 1722, from that of the Municipal in 1767. In the former, as we saw, hundreds of armed Catich paraded in an alarming manner the streets of the little burgh, while a sloop-of-war in the Roads took part in the festivities by salvoes from its greatest guns; in the latter the lawlessness was limited to a twenty-four hour "boose" on the part of a majority of the Town Council, and the jingle of much corrupting Indian gold in their pockets. Evidently, civilization had made remarkable progress during the previous forty-five years!

Under suitable advice Sir Hector Munro secured as his local agent Mr Greig, Town Clerk of the burgh, who being largely supplied with the sinews of war contrived to make the success of his principal a foregone conclusion, nay, so dexterous were the measures taken that neither Sir Alexander Grant of Dalvey, the sitting member, nor even that gentleman's steady supporters at the Council Table, knew aught of what was in progress until the morning preceding the day of election.

Sir Alexander, in his correspondence bearing upon the case, relates that while proceeding to Fortrose in company with the Provost and one of the Bailies, he was handed a letter from the remaining Magistrates and Council, intimating that he was not to have any support from them when again contesting the Inverness Burghs; it further stated, that five of his friends, including the Provost, had by express vote been superseded at the Council Table by Sir Hector Munro of Novar and other four Ross-shire lairds. The news was indeed stunning! He, however, continued his journey to Fortrose, and proceeded to make inquiries. He says:—"On the morning preceding the day of (the Municipal) Election, Colonel Sir Hector Munro of Novar, accompanied by Sir Harry Munro of Fowlis, George Mackay of Skibo, David Ross of Invercastley, Duncan Ross of Kindeace, and many others, marched into Fortrose with trumpets blowing, and all the seeming magnificence of the East, and having got the ten Councillors then in town to a tavern, this Eastern Nabob plied them with metal and other means so forcible as to cause every one of them to desert the interests of their old friend, the petitioner, and, in a manner, become his mere sepoys."

He adds, as a significant fact from which but one conclusion can be drawn, that things were made so agreeable to the Burgh Fathers, that they remained willing prisoners in the tavern the whole day and night, without any of their friends having access to them. On the following day they, accompanied by Sir Hector and his party, marched in a body from the tavern to the Council Chamber, voted out the five objectionable members, and voted in the Novar Baronet and his four friends aforesaid. Thus, in company with Inverness and Nairn, but in a more public manner, Fortrose became identified with the Novar interest, and an additional recruit was in due time added to the Indian cohort in the House of Commons, against which so much of Burke's scathing eloquence was directed. This constituted the election.

The Parliamentary contest took place in 1768, and, as a matter of course, Sir Hector was duly returned, and continued to represent the Burghs until 1802, notwithstanding that during that period he, for several years, served in India. On his final return he was appointed Colonel of the 42nd Highlanders, and continued in the command of that distinguished regiment for nineteen years.

The Fortrose Election Case took its name from the action subsequently raised by Sir Alexander Grant in the Court of Session in order to have it reduced in respect of the bribery and corruption which had gone to procure it.

After spending a mint of money Sir Alexander failed to make out his case. No one had any doubt but that the sudden revolution in the sentiments of the Fortrose Councillors was brought about by a liberal distribution of hard cash, but as the persons implicated were the only witnesses, and kept their mouths judiciously shut, incriminating evidence could not be had. The petitioner maintained that Andrew Bremner, one of the persons who had voluntarily agreed to go out of the Council, received for that piece of service £100 in hand and the promise of a commission in the army of the East Indian Company. This was denied on oath, but the facts could bear no other construction. Sir Alexander Grant complained—very unreasonably—that Sir Hector and his agents had managed so artfully that it was next to impossible to make clear discoveries; but that thick though the coverings were, he hoped to be able to expose them to the censure of the Court. To this the respondents cheerfully replied that they had no reason to fear the strictest scrutiny, and that the "cover" referred to had no existence save in the complainer's imagination.

A capital mistake was made by Sir Alexander when he produced as witness a young fellow of the name of Logan, clerk to Mr Greig, Town Clerk of Fortrose. As Greig held the position of local agent to Sir Hector, and had much correspondence with himself and his friends, that correspondence, or certified copies thereof, would, it was believed, go far to establish the hitherto hypothetical charge of bribery, but manifestly the breaking open of lock-fast places could not, with safety, be resorted to, and the grapes had-for a time-to be voted sour. At this juncture, however, it occurred to one Donald Forbes, taxman of Arkendeith, that the services of his nephew-the clerk in questionmight be utilised towards procuring copies of the said correspondence. Drowning men will catch at straws, and the proposal was accepted; copies were skilfully taken and were found sufficiently incriminating. The case would, accordingly, have been won, if only the means by which the copies were got could bear light! But, with a temerity born of desperation, Logan was put in the witness-box with the view of certifying to their authenticity. Under a skilfully devised series of questions he, however, had at last to confess that while otherwise employed by his master he had surreptitiously taken the copies then before the Court. Mr Greig at once petitioned the Sheriff to have Logan imprisoned for

breach of trust, but bail was accepted at the hands of the agent for the petitioner. An order was also procured from the Supreme Court to expunge from the record whatever testimony Logan had given, while he himself was served by the Crown Prosecutor at the instance of the Magistrates of the Burgh of Fortrose with a copy of a complaint wherein he was required to appear personally at the bar of the High Court in Edinburgh. There he was sentenced to eighteen days' imprisonment, and on their expiration it was "Descerned and ordained that the said Robert Logan be carried to and put on the pillory for the space of one hour, with a paper affixed to his breast, with these words written in large characters-' Gross prevaricator and wilful concealer of the truth upon oath." The sentence was carried out to-the letter, after which the unfortunate youth was dismissed. We are inclined to think that Parliament might to worse than add an hour in the pillory to the penalties now attached to electioneering slanders, so easily started, and so difficult to overtake!

In respect that Sir Hector Munro was a prominent countryman, and as a General officer long in command of the Northern District, a slight sketch of his non-political performances seems to be called for in this place.

He found Novar a very inferior property, the soil being poor though well adapted for the growth of timber, but by the improvements he effected at the cost of £120,000, which during his life-time did not return ½ per cent, he left it at least a pretty estate. In order to acquire a view of the Cromarty Firth from the mansion house he, regardless of cost, levelled one of the eminences, due, it is believed, to the Drift Period, which characterise the lower grounds. He planted extensively and erected numerous fantastic structures, the most conspicuous of which—the cynosure of many eyes—still crowns the summit of Fyrish. The traditions of the district are to the effect that he was partial to seeing numerous working people about him, while indifferent as to whether they were usefully employed or not; but it could not be said that sympathy for his humbler countrymen formed any part of his character, for, as we shall see, when referring to that foolish escapade termed "The Year of the Sheep," he acted with characteristic ruthlessness against those whom his policy of depopulation had driven desperate. He died in 1806, and was buried in Fortrose Cathedral.

In this place it will be expedient to give in succinct form the conditions under which Scottish counties returned representatives to the Imperial Parliament; in the Burghs it has already been pointed out that the franchise was held by the several self-elected municipalities.

Passing over the Superseded Act of 1587, that of 1681 placed the representation on that basis where, with but slight modifications, it rested until the coming into force of the Reform Act of 1832. In that Act it was provided "that none shall have votes in the election of commissioners for shires, or stewartries which shall have been in use to be represented in Parliament and conventions, but those who at the time shall be publicly infeft in property or superiority, and in possession of forty shilling land of old extent, holden of the King or Prince distinct from the feu duties in feu lands; or where the said old extent appears not, shall be infeft in land lyable in public burdens, for His Majesty's supplies, for four hundred pounds of valued rent, whether kirk land, now holden of the king, or other lands holding feu, ward, or blench (nominal feu duty) of His Majesty as King or Prince of Scotland." The right of voting was also allowed to apprisers and wadsetters (holders of superiorities in security for debts), to apparent heirs, to life-renters, and to husbands in right of their wives' freeholds. It was further provided that freeholders meet yearly at Michaelmas in the head burgh of the shire, for the purpose of revising the Roll of Voters; while meetings for the election—when required—of a commissioner were to be held in the Sheriff Court-Room there, between mid-day and two o'clock in the afternoon. It was also declared that non-residence in no wise invalidated the rights of an elector. Persons though duly qualified so far as the characters of their estates went might yet be disabled from exercising the franchise. Roman Catholics had no votes (Act 1707), nor were they allowed to vote who, within one year preceding the election, had been twice present at Divine service in an Episcopal meeting whose officiating minister had not taken the oath to the Government, nor did not in express words pray for the king, his heirs and successors by name, and for all the Royal Family (19 Geo.) The eldest sons of peers were also declared incapable of being enrolled for or of representing any Scotch burgh or county.

The day of the election—previously notified at the Cross of the head burgh and on every Parish Church door—having arrived, the Sheriff read the writ he had received from the Clerk of the Crown; the statutes against bribery, produced the Roll of Freeholders with copies of the several oaths, and having done so retired. Then the last representative of the county took the chair, or failing him the Sheriff-Clerk, who, by that occurrence, became endowed with the casting vote to which the former representative was entitled, and he and all the Freeholders qualified by taking the oath of allegiance, signing the assurance, and, if required, taking the oath of abjuration. A preses and clerk being next chosen by the votes of those present, the meeting undertook the adjustment of the Roll; the names of all who had died, or had become disqualified, were struck out, and those of qualified claimants added, disputed points being decided by a majority of the votes.

It should here be remembered that in North Britain rights of free-hold were not constituted by property. A man might be a freeholder without being the proprietor of a single acre, while, on the other hand, a man might be a proprietor of land worth £10,000 a year, and yet not be qualified to be a freeholder. Property and superiority were things perfectly distinct, and have been so from the very commencement of the feudal system. The immediate vassals of the Crown are alone accounted freeholders, or, in vulgar language, the right of freehold is annexed to superiority. Those freeholders, therefore, who possessed both the superiority and property of the same lands had to remember that they were freeholders, not in consequence of their property, but solely in consequence of their superiority.

It would also appear that certain lands of Ross, it is hard to say where situated, had so late as the reign of Robert III. remained unincorporated with those of the Earldom, as these, with certain others in Ayr and Renfrew, were erected into a principality for his unfortunate son and heir apparent, the Prince of Scotland. The Prince's vassals were, equally with the Crown vassals, entitled to vote for the commissioners from shires.

The Roll being thus completed, candidates were nominated, and the preses called over the names set down therein, and took the votes of the freeholders present at the meeting, having himself, in the event of an equality, a casting vote in addition to his own. The names of the persons elected having been declared by the preses, the clerk transmitted the fact to the Sheriff, which was by him transmitted to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, the person elected being required to take the trust oath before the Lord Steward, or some one delegated by him.

The leading interests in Ross towards the close of the 18th century, as we learn from "The Confidential Report" ("View of the Political State of Scotland in the Last Century: Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1887"), on which we have drawn for most of the above facts, were those of Mr Humberston Mackenzie (the last Seaforth), who then represented the county; Captain Mackenzie, who, on the death of Lord Macleod, had succeeded to the Cromartie properties; and David Ross, Lord Ankerville, in the Court of Session. It was believed that the first named gentleman had the command of at least twenty-four votes, the names of his clients being also given. Next in order we have Thomas Mackenzie of Applecross, "A good estate; a son of a lawyer; will go with Mr Mackenzie"; and so on with the seventy-four freeholders then forming the county constituency. Speaking candidly from knowledge, and apart from the complete overturn in the matter of interests, it does not appear to us as if the motives on which the election of an M.P. then turned have undergone any material elevation for the full century that has intervened.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Our story of the Province of Ross having arrived at a period when the social revolution inaugurated at Culloden was more or less consummated it will be expedient to revert to the Land Question, then, even more than now, engaging the attention of all classes.

That goodly quantities of "Mairtis, Muttonis, Capones, Poultrie, Aitis, Bear, and Meill" were produced in Ross and disposed of by local consumpt, or in payment of rent or public burdens, no one who reads the account given in the appendix of the revenues of the Earldom during the reign of James VI. will for a moment doubt. For one thing it reduces to water much of Burton's elaborate generalisations regarding the backwardness of agricultural matters in the Highlands, and in a pretty extensive area, too, where clanship, notwithstanding, dominated the situation. It will also be seen that by that time, and as markets were being opened up, small payments in money as well as in kind were demanded; the latter, there can be little doubt, being the exclusive method of earlier times. Then, although agriculture continued for ages in what we would term a primitive stage, the returns given in the more favoured spots were such that its pursuit must have given employment to a great proportion of the population of the low country, or Machair.

Sheep breeding, on a small scale, and from the earliest ages, was everywhere followed, for, though the Highlander—the hardiest of all mortals—went about with his legs bare, he always took care to have his body well protected with woollens, and for that reason, were there no other, it was necessary to grow wool in sufficient quantities. The sheep of those times were, however, diminutive, and their rearing was, in consequence, less followed than that of the hardy black cattle—the very counterpart among the brute creation in aspect and toughness of what the Highlander himself was among men.

About the beginning of the 18th century it was found by the Border farmers that their hills and dales were better adapted for the profitable rearing of an improved breed of sheep than any other kind of stock. This object lesson was not lost upon stock-breeders in other parts of Scotland. By the middle of the century the new system of turning the rough hill pasture to profitable account had been adopted in Perthshire, where it so commended itself to the neighbouring speculators and impecunious lairds that it was speedily introduced and established in the surrounding counties. "The men of Kintail," we read, "held a large tract of land in Glengarry, as a summer shieling, or grazing for their cattle, for which they paid but £15 of annual rent. The ground was examined by a sagacious sheep farmer from the dales in the south. He offered no less than £350 of rent—about half the value of the whole estate, and died a richer man than his laird." The temptation to the proprietors was irresistible. Sentiment, and with it the clansman had to take a back seat, and the clearing out of the straths and glens became inevitable, for the Land Fathers had already sunk into the condition of labour-saving machines, and the difficulties attendant upon teaching their people to conform to the altered circumstances were not thought of. In these circumstances its introduction into Ross became inevitable, and the new method of making a maximum of profit with a minimum of trouble-and, notwithstanding what it involved to the unfortunate "natives"—was practiced by its lairds with all the eagerness of pirates in pursuit of a bullion ship.

In Ross, the initiative in sheep-breeding on a large scale, was taken in 1763 by Sir John Lockhart Ross of Balnagown. At that period newspapers could hardly be said to exist; at all events they did not exist for the rural population of Ross, and in consequence news travelled slow; the progress of "modern improvements in general," and sheep-breeding in particular, and how it was likely to affect them, occasioned little anxiety; many in the district setting down Sir John's experiment as a freak of a sailor who knew no better way of throwing away his money. They saw good cause to alter their opinion before all was done!

There were, it is true, a few thoughtful people to whom the occurrence bore an ill-omened aspect, from their having heard of or seen a distracted Highland seer, who had a few years previously traversed

many of the straths and glens—the very antitype of that mysterious Jew who, during the siege of Jerusalem, paced its walls for months, crying, "Wo! Wo! Wo! to Jerusalem"—the chief difference in the modern portent being his especial cry—"Mo thruaighe ort o thir, tha'n caorich mhor a' teachd!" (Woe to thee, O land, the great (Cheviot) sheep is coming!) What became of the crier, whose exit was as mysterious as his entrance, no one can tell, but every Highlander well read in the literature of the clearances which in due time followed, or who may have traversed the depopulated districts, will acknowledge the appropriateness of the cry.

More bewildering by far to the rural sages of Easter Ross was, however, the manner in which Sir John discarded the time-honoured ways of his predecessors when bringing the waste portions of his estate into profitable cultivation. He inclosed many barren hillsides, and instead of patiently waiting on Providence and the birds for that purpose, had them planted by the instrumentality of labourers at a shilling a day. There could be no doubt but that the thing was an improvement, and that the trees grew well, but after all the act was considered as akin to the winnowing of grain by means of a "fanners," and savoured of impiety.

The scrubby hill-sides were not the only places on his property to which he directed his attention; the low-lying wet grounds and sour marshes hitherto held to be irreclaimable were surveyed, and as a first step towards adding them to the corn land of the kingdom they were intersected with deep drains, and though the reclaiming of wastes was as an art still in its infancy those subjects became in course of time indistinguishable from the old land of the estate. Yet, so far as Sir John was personally concerned, and though for his pioneer work in arboriculture and agriculture his name deserves to be held in honour, on these improvements, as well as on his sheep-farming speculation, he met with nothing but disappointment and loss. His attempts to increase the timber and food supplies of the nation were of the nature of experiments, and it is notorious that experimentalists and inventors rarely reap the fruit of their labours and anxieties. In the case of the Balnagown estate, however, Sir John's successors amply reaped what their predecessor had sown.

The best account we have of the introduction of sheep-farming in

Ross is to be found in Sir George Mackenzie of Coul's "General View": a work now somewhat scarce, but which deals at first hand, not only with that subject, but with the improvements in argriculture which marked the latter half of the last and the first quarter of the present century.

The writer to whom we are thus indebted merits at least a passing notice. Sir George Mackenzie was a gentleman who in his day went to considerable expense in endeavouring to acquire a reputation for scientific research, going even the length of sacrificing his mother's diamonds with the view of demonstrating, by means of the concentrated solar rays, that after all they were but a form of carbon, but in other directions his success might be very aptly expressed in cyphers; while, with respect to his character as a landlord and a man his record was at best equivocal. As Sir George never made any pretensions to philanthropy, or took any part in forwarding the moral and social elevation of the people, it was, therefore, not to be expected that he would discourse upon these topics in his work; but, still, one might expect more from a pseudo philosopher than to characterise the great mass of his countrymen in Ross as "Natives"; or, that the objections taken against the so-called improvements on account of the sufferings they would entail on these unfortunates would be characterised by him contemptuously as mere prejudices. In the "General View," the one point from which Sir George discourses is that of landlord, and though the upkeep of the farm drudge has due mention as an item in the outlays, capital-endowed farmers—their enterprise and their achievements—are held to be the only persons or topics worthy of consideration.

Referring to Sir John Lockhart Ross, with whom, as we saw, the introduction of sheep-farming on a large scale originated, he says:—"He had more than ordinary difficulties to encounter. At the time he succeeded to the estate of Balnagown, a very great proportion of the Highland property was parcelled out into farms, and let to the proprietors of land in the low country, who were accountable for the rents, while they were permitted to subset the greater part to the 'natives,' they reserved for themselves as much ground as would support their labouring cattle during the four months of the summer and autumn, and also a few milk cows and the young stots reared from them, which were committed to the care of servants. When these leases expired Sir John did not

think it in his interest to renew them, and the gentlemen who had them made so little profit that their disappointment at Sir John's determination was not great. It was not so, however, with the 'natives,' who were obliged to pay a high rent, and lost the protection of their former masters, who used to supply all their wants, and take their rents whenever the people thought proper to pay them." These, then, were the conditions under which the first Ross-shire clearances of which we have any record took place; the commercial principle in the most rigorous form was here made to supersede the golden rule and the Dismal Science those kindly relations which had hitherto existed between landlord and tenant. Sir George proceeds:- "Sir John took one of those farms into his own occupation, and put upon it a stock of sheep bought at the Linton market, and hired shepherds of that country to tend his flock. When the shepherds first came to the country, they must have found themselves very disagreeably situated, amongst a race of people who considered them as intruders, (!) whose language they did not understand, and who used every art to discourage them and to render their lives miserable. The losses of sheep from the depredations of the people 'and mismanagement' were enormous; and the flocks could not be supported but by annual importations from the South country, and as frequent change of shepherds. It was not the 'prejudices' of the people on Sir John's estate alone which he had to encounter, but those of all the gentlemen of the country, who attributed the losses not to the true cause, but to the climate. To these arguments were invariably added 'the trite' one which has since been so frequently made use of to discourage sheep farming, that the districts would be depopulated, and that a valuable and hardy race of men would be forced to emigrate to foreign countries. But Sir John was not to be so easily turned from his purpose" (what to him was the extinction of a hardy race of men as compared with the cultivation of a hardy breed of sheep!) "while he saw the prodigious advantage to himself and his fellow-lairds if he succeeded in showing that sheep could live during the severest seasons on the mountains of Ross-shire, when properly treated. Although the sums of money which he lost when trying the experiment were very considerable, he determined to persevere until he should be able to prevail upon some skilful and active man who understood the business to settle on the

estate. The man he sought he found in a Mr Geddes, who resided at Tummel Bridge, in Perthshire, and had a sheep farm on the estate of Mr Stewart of Garth. To Mr Geddes, in 1781, Sir John offered the most advantageous terms in order to induce him, not only to take the farms but to live upon them. Fortunately, the commencement of sheepfarming was committed to a very sensible, sagacious man, who understood the business thoroughly, and saw that the country had no natural impediment to prevent sheep from thriving as well in it as on any of the hills in Scotland. But Mr Geddes had, at first, to struggle against the prejudices of the people, which were inveterate against the new system of pasturage, and as they were with much difficulty restrained from open hostility while Sir John had the farms in his own possession, it is not a matter of wonder that the spirit which had continued pent up should burst into some acts of violence upon their supposing the restraint removed. Accordingly, the most wicked and flagrant depredations were committed on Mr Geddes's flock; numbers were shot, and droves were collected, surrounded, and forced into lakes and drowned. Geddes persevered, and succeeded so well that his son took a renewal of his father's lease, with considerable additions to the farm. It is believed that Mr Geddes was the first sheep farmer who settled in the North of Scotland.

"Soon after Mr Geddes had settled, Mr Cameron, from the neighbourhood of Fort-William, took a farm on the Highland part of Mr Munro of Culcairn's estate, and about the same time Mr Mitchell, from Ayrshire, took a considerable tract of ground from Mr Davidson of Tulloch, and was followed, in 1790, by Mr Macleod of Geanies, who had a lease from the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates, of a farm on that of Cromartie, near the coast of Lochbroom. Finally, near the end of last century, the number of tenants in Kildermorrie was reduced to six, and later on these, too, were dispossessed in order to convert the whole glen into one farm. Sir Hector Munro of Novar was at that time the proprietor. He let the whole of the land to two brothers, Captain Allan, and Alexander Cameron, natives of Lochaber"; gentlemen whose modes of procedure so exasperated those victims of oppression who still retained a foothold in the country, as to precipitate that catastrophe by which the year 1792 is, and will long be, remembered in the Highlands as "The Year of the Sheep" ("Bliadhna na Coarach.")

With the view of showing to the full the propriety of driving the Highlanders out of their holding in order that mutton might have free scope for its cultivation, he goes on to say: - "Though a singular one, it is a fact, that every one of the Highlanders, except those who have some connection with the soil, is active and enterprising. If he cannot find employment at home 'he travels hundreds of miles to seek it.' There are not more hardy labourers in the world than Highlanders at piece work. They are not in general neat handed, but they soon acquire expertness in any kind of work they engage in. But look attentively at the proceedings of a Highland farmer, and a very different description will be found necessary for his habits. Until he gets his seed sown he is as active a man as can be. When that business is over he goes to sleep until roused by the peaceful recollection that he must have some means of keeping himself warm during the winter. He then spends a few days in the peat moss, where the women and children are chief operators. He cuts the peats, and leaves them to be piled and dried by his family. Whenever the peats have been brought home another interval presents itself for repose until the corn is ripe. During the winter, unless a good opportunity for smuggling occurs, a Highland farmer has nothing to do but keep himself warm. He never thinks of labouring his fields during mild weather, or of collecting manure during the frost-nothing rouses him but the genial warmth of spring. cannot reckon how often I have seen Highland farmers basking in the sun on a fine summer day in all the comforts of idleness." (This is not the usual meaning attached to the verb, to be roused!) "I have asked them when I found them in such a situation why they were not hoeing 'Oh, the women and the bairns do that,' was the their potatoes? answer. I would then ask them why they did not remove the heaps of stones which I saw on the fields, or conduct away the water which rested upon them? They would answer that they did not know where to put them; or, that they did no harm; and that the water gave sap to the land; with many other answers equally absurd, and dictated by nothing but what may be considered constitutional sloth. During his leisure hours a Highland farmer will do nothing for himself; but hire him to work and he will become as busy as a bee. 'He will never go to work, it must be brought to him.' The true reason why Highlanders are so fond of distillation is, that it costs them but little labour, and

brings them what they conceive to be profit, although the most successful smuggler, by putting a proper value upon his time, would find himself a very great loser. When the Highlander must work, he exerts himself nobly. When he has the pleasure of seeing some patches of corn growing he reflects with comfort that it grows to feed himself and family without his interference, and cares no more about the matter. Is it not, therefore, sound policy to place the Highlanders in a situation where they will be forced to work?"

This last sentence is distinctively suggestive of reducing the Highlanders of Ross to a condition of peredial slavery, and, doubtless, the wish was father to the thought, for Sir George was fully equal to strange things; but passing from that, if it is resolved to accept him as a credible witness, one may reasonably exclaim: -For contradictory elements of character is it possible to find a people in the wide world to match the Scottish Highlanders? They are stigmatised as inert, and yet on a trifling change in their circumstances they become "active and enterprising." He will travel hundreds of miles to procure employment, and yet "he will never go to seek it, it must be brought to him." He is never roused but by the genial warmth of spring, and at the same time "bask in the sun in all the comforts of idleness." He is guilty of the crime of not "working" for himself when at "leisure," but is ready to exert himself nobly if employed by you! In the matter of providing fuel for winter use, it is difficult to see how the term laziness can be applied. Here Sir George seems to trade upon the reader's ignorance and his own. As every Highlander is aware, the cutting of peats is perhaps the most exhausting employment a man can engage in; while the drying and piling, though severe enough while it lasts, has always been considered the appropriate work of women and children. Plainly, here as in other places, the element of sloth has been supplied cut and dried by the jaundiced writer.

Now, during a pretty long life we have fallen in with a number of lazy Highlanders; it would be strange if we had not, for the "Species Lazy" are pretty evenly distributed over this planet; and we have also known a still greater number of shady lairds, not lazy by any means, but over whose peculiar industries, and in the interests of common decency, it is necessary to draw a veil; but to ascribe to Highland proprietors as a class the vices of a mere handful of their order, would be quite of a

piece with Sir George Mackenzie's long, dull diatribe on the Highland people because a few within the circle of his acquaintance were not more industrious than they should be.

We have referred to the "Year of the Sheep," and in doing so we saw that the Messrs Cameron, of Lochaber, had taken Sir Hector Munro's lands of Kildermorie and had converted them into a sheep-walk. This was considered a hateful innovation by the "natives," and resented accordingly. Previously, the marches of the respective grazings were not scrupulously observed, but the Camerons determined on putting a stop to this, and, accordingly, poinded their neighbour's cattle when trespassing, and insisted upon payment, or pledges, ere the animals were set at liberty. Matters went on in this manner for some time, until one day in 1792, the whole of the cattle belonging to the tenants of Strathrusdale-the glen immediate north of Kildermorie-strayed over into the Camerons' ground. They were at once collected by those gentlemen's shepherds and driven into a "fank" at the west end of the loch. The owners of the cattle, exasperated by the frequent poinding, resolved to pay the exaction no longer; and, roused to desperation, resolved on the release of the cattle by force. Finding themselves too few in numbers for this purpose they dispatched a messenger to the tenants of Ardross, further down the valley, for assistance. messenger found the people in the act of cutting peats, but immediately on delivering his message all the men threw down their tools, and headed by Alexander Wallace, or Big Wallace, as he was better known by, they rushed to the rescue. On arriving at Kildermorie they found the cattle in the "fank" guarded by the Camerons and all their men. Camerons were powerful men, and one of them was armed with a loaded gun and a dirk a foot long. Wallace grappled with this individual, and in a few minutes disarmed him. It is said that in the struggle the barrel of the gun was twisted like a "wuddie," and that the dirk is now in possession of Wallace's grandson. The cattle were set at liberty, and though the best of friendship did not afterwards exist between the parties, the fight put an end to the poinding.

Matters having arrived at this stage, an explosion long imminent might be looked for at any moment, and it soon took place.

On Friday, July 27th, 1792, a wedding was celebrated in the house of one of the Strathrusdale tenants, and when the home-brewed ale and

mountain dew had sufficiently obscured the mental faculties of the numerous guests, the more reckless suggested the collecting of all the sheep in the counties of Ross and Sutherland, and driving them across the Beauly River, there to wander at their pleasure. Presuming on their victory over the Camerons in the previous May, they never doubted but that they would be successful on this occasion also, and most of the young fellows present entered on the enterprise with enthusiasm. Next day they dispatched men to make public proclamation on the Sunday following at the Parish Churches of Ross and Sutherland, inviting the inhabitants of those parishes to meet upon the next Tuesday, and forcibly drive the sheep out of those counties. Proclamations were, accordingly, made at the churches of Alness, Urquhart, Resolis, and Kincardine, in the county of Ross, and in those of Creich and Lairg in those of Sutherland. In the two latter places, however, since there was on that day no preaching, the proclamation was made at all the publichouses in those parishes!

The mustering place was Strath-Oykel, in the parish of Kincardine, and there, on Tuesday, the 31st July, about 200 assembled to carry the purpose into effect. Proceeding in a body to the most remote district in the parish of Lairg in which sheep were grazed, they pressed the shepherds into their service, and drove before them every sheep they could find in the parishes of Lairg, Creich, and Kincardine, except a flock in Strath-Oykel, belonging to Donald Macleod of Geanies, the then Sheriff of Ross, from the motive, doubtless, of so far conciliating that official should the authorities after all decide on making reprisals. By the Saturday following the raiders and their "creich," amounting to many thousands, had reached Boath, in the parish of Alness, but here their method of arresting the wholesale cultivation of mutton collapsed.

Information of this absurd freak had reached the Sheriff, and that gentleman, accompanied by Sir Hector Munro of Novar, and a party of the 42nd Regiment, after making a forced march from Fort-George, made their appearance on the ground early on Sunday, just as the party was setting out to gather in the flocks of the Camerons. The appearance of the military created a panic, and all that could fled to the hills. A few, however, were caught by the soldiers, and brought in the first instance as prisoners to Novar House, were subsequently sent to Inverness jail to await their trial.

It could not be said that this escapade on the part of the misguided people produced any panic in the minds of the proprietors concerned. "As the law then stood," and while assured of the active support of the Executive Authorities, they looked upon the whole affair as a mere ebullition of ignorant prejudice on the part of sufferers by the new system; but none the less were they resolved upon making an example of the ringleaders, so as to stamp out the embers of discontent, and make another "drive" impossible.

In pursuance of this resolve, and at the instance of the Crown Authorities, there were placed at the bar of the Circuit Court held at Inverness on 14th September, 1792, Hugh Break Mackenzie, tenant of Acharn, parish of Alness, and county of Ross; Malcolm Ross, alias Macrob, in Alladale, parish of Kincardine, and county of Ross; Donald Munro, alias Roy, tenant in Drumvaich, parish of Kincardine, and county of Cromarty; Alexander Mackay, Langwell, in the parish of Kincardine, and county of Ross; William Cunningham, in Aulanguish, parish of Kincardine, and county of Ross; and jointly and severally charged with "advising, exciting, and instigating of persons riotously and feloniously to invade, seize upon, and drive away of the grounds of the proprietors, flocks of sheep amounting to several thousands"; whereby "a daring insult was offered to the law, the public peace was disturbed, and the property of the lieges greatly damaged, and at the mercy of a lawless and seditious mob."

General Stewart of Garth says, "the accused were defended most eloquently by their countryman, Mr Charles Ross, advocate, but as their conduct was illegal, and the offence clearly proved," all were found guilty, with one exception. The sentence of the Court was, that Hugh Break Mackenzie and John Aird be transported beyond the seas for seven years; Malcolm Ross to be fined in £50 sterling, and imprisonment for a month, and until payment; Alexander Mackay and Donald Munro to be banished from Scotland for life; and William Cunningham to be imprisoned for three months, and then dismissed.

The prisoners, however, managed to break prison; nor does it appear that any active steps were taken for their apprehension. Dr Aird says:—"I heard that the feeling in the country as to the unrighteousness of the sentence passed by the Judge was so strong that the prison door was opened so that the prisoners escaped." General Stewart of Garth's

version is that:—"It would appear that though the legality of the verdict and sentence could not be questioned, these did not carry along with them public opinion, which was probably the cause that the escape of the prisoners was in a manner connived at; for they disappeared out of the prison, no one knew how, and were never inquired after or molested.

A personal description is given of the men in the Edinburgh "Courant" of 3rd November, 1792, and a reward of £5 offered for the apprenension of each; but the money was never claimed, and the authorities were not a whit sorry, if common report be true.

CHAPTER XXV.

WE have, in a previous chapter, endeavoured to deal with the changes—we decline to call them improvements—brought about in the condition of the people of Ross by the introduction of sheep-farming on a large scale, and briefly referred in passing to the planting and draining operations of Sir John Lockhart Ross, as actually the first step towards making the Province a corn-exporting country. A brief reference to the improvements thus set on foot, especially as affecting the mass of the people, will be in order, and we shall conclude with a still briefer notice of the opening up of the country by highways; but, before doing either, we must inflict upon the reader a few preliminary remarks.

We have already admitted that from their inception down to the closing years of the eighteenth century, agricultural matters all over the Highlands were in a most primitive and backward state. While the Clan system existed, things pastoral, rather than agricultural, held the field, and in view of the fact that misrule had become chronic, and the sword rather than the policeman's baton in the ascendant, it could hardly be otherwise. Then came a time of transition; the sword was laid aside for good, but the Man in Blue, or at least the Procurator-Fiscal, and the beneficent arrangements he typifies, still lingered; while responsibilities on the part of the natural leaders of the people were quietly and persistently ignored. The result was a period of drift; the social character of the Highland peasant deteriorated, nor could it be well otherwise when his former methods of obtaining a living had become obsolete. Meantime, in the long settled south, attention was being given to the discovery of the best system for obtaining out of the soil of the kingdom the maximum of productiveness; one improvement led to another, and wasteful and vicious systems were one by one abandoned. By and by these improvements were introduced into Ross-confessedly by the capitalist farmers, while some of the crofter holdings, where primitive methods remained in the ascendant, were, with much hardship as a result, added to their fields. But of these cases the law of sacrifice and the good of the greater number seem to have lent its sanction; an object lesson was indispensable, and in this way alone could it be had and paid for.

The object lesson was not lost upon the other small farmers; the contrast between stunted and weighty crops growing side by side on what was substantially the same soil gave its death blow to the old-world notions and methods, and inquiries and imitation did the rest. A spirit of improvement got abroad, the whole eastern side of the Province coming under its sway. The small farmer and crofter proceeded to set their respective lands in order, and before many years had passed one could detect but little difference between their crops and those of the capitalist.

But numerous expatriations of low country small crofters and farmers, on various pretences, went on all the same, even when they showed all the aptness just referred to. Like the policy of substituting sheep for men, it did not always prove a pecuniary success. The facts were sedulously concealed, but they leaked out notwithstanding. The scandal of ridding the country of its most industrious inhabitants was, of course, held to be a triviality, but the diminished rental was felt to be a more serious affair. As illustrative of this untowardness we beg to draw the reader's attention to the following well-authenticated case: -- About forty years ago, on a corner of the Newmore property, known as the Big Park, there existed a township of seven families, equally removed from pinching poverty or ostentatious wealth. Their crofts were kept in apple-pie order; supplied, and to spare, such farm produce as was required; arrears were conspicuous by their absence, while the rents of the place amounted to \pm ,50. Could there be a clearer case, we ask, for letting well alone? Unfortunately, with respect to this cluster of happy families the estate official, or officials, thought otherwise-the Newmore estate being then, like many in Ross, at the disposal of that class. It was commonly believed that the initiative in this case was taken by the local factor-generally known from the magnificence of his manner as the Count-inasmuch as a considerable amount of his valuable time would be economised were these crofters ejected and their lands added to Rosebank farm.

One thing is certain, the seven unfortunate families were each served with notices to quit, the houses they had themselves erected were pulled down, and they had to find other sheltering places where they best could. One or more removed to Alness, others migrated further north, and in one instance Cadboll stood the poor man's friend, and assigned him a place on the adjacent moor, where he, or his descendants, still live.

But, apart from conserving the Count's valuable time, the reader will be curious to know the exact commercial value of the experiment. Well, and in a word, the experiment, like many similar, turned out a ghastly failure. The farm of Rosebank was indeed rendered somewhat bigger and more rectangular, but at the following cost to the proprietor:— Expense incurred in removing the debris of the township and obliterating the marks of the former occupancy, \pounds_{300} , which sum, capitalised at the then current rate, must be set down at £15, payable in perpetuity. The rent obtained from the tenant of Rosebank for the land thus added to his farm was £40, which, when the interest of the sum spent in the improvements was deducted, left the magnificent sum of £25 to be added to the Newmore rent-roll as against £50, until then paid by the maligned "natives"!

Apart from the business aspect of a state of things no longer possible, we must be excused when we add to pecuniary loss that of prestige, which, when things go right, inhere to the possession of many broad acres. The proprietor's place rightly is that of leader of the men of the district, and is never forfeited but by a long course of misconduct. For a time, indeed, the proverbial pound of flesh was his, but in obtaining it he incurred an odium which laid out at interest, and in due time, has reduced his class to a condition of political impotence, pitiable to even the village demagogue.

Sir George Mackenzie has in his book a chapter on the then breeding and breeds of live stock—of a merely antiquarian interest at present—and, therefore, does not call for notice, while his views of the due rotation of crops may, with all propriety, be accorded a similar neglect. But a reference he makes to an example of reclamation, of which the upper part of Strathpeffer was the scene, merits, from its importance and success, a full notice. First, a word or two on the Land Reclaimer; the land reclaimed, be it remembered, forms at present the great part of Inchvannie farm. This gentleman was the Rev. Donald Mackenzie,

second son of that Rev. Colin Mackenzie whom we sometime back introduced to our readers as having given in trust to the laird of Tulloch of that day, for the poor of Dingwall, what remained of the old Castle, with its site, valued at £300. We next described him as a clansman, and as doing yeoman service in that capacity. Some time during the concluding years of the last century he purchased the estate of Glaik, in Aberdeenshire, to which he removed, and where he died. He was succeeded in the charge of Fodderty by the subject of our sketch, who died in 1826. He held what were then known as Moderate opinions. Of his gifts as a preacher we know nothing, but as a debater on the floor of the Assembly he took rank with Dr Cook, Dr Lee, Dr Irvine, Principal Nicol, and others; as we have it on the unimpeachable testimony of Mr Donald Sage, in his "Memorabilia."

"Mr Mackenzie has favoured me," Sir George says, "with the following account of his proceedings:—

"In compliance with your request I beg leave to mention to you the manner in which I improved my share of the Strathpeffer moor. Notwithstanding the ridicule of my neighbours, and the amusement which my attempting to render arable any part of that miserable subject has afforded to many, who carelessly observed my operations, yet when I began my improvements I had little doubt of their beneficial consequences, and I am now satisfied that it will return me a benefit sufficient to recompense my outlays and the risk I ran.

"In 1803 I took a lease of the farm of Auchterneed, with fifty acres of Strathpeffer moor, from Mr Mackenzie of Cromartie, the proprietor. This moor was as wretchedly poor and unproductive a subject, both to the proprietor and the tenants, as any in the country, and did not actually produce 20s. worth of food for man or beast, even in the most favourable seasons. The soil consisted of a thin gravel, with an immense quantity of small stones, and was chiefly covered with a starved heath. Although situated in the rich valley of Strathpeffer, this moor was of so forbidding an appearance as to have been considered incapable of cultivation, and was a most unpleasant object in the midst of a well-improved valley. Encouraged, however, by its warm, sheltered situation, its level surface, easiness of access to the means of improvement, and its being nearly a flat plain, I resolved to try what could be done for its melioration.

"In the winter of 1803, having cleared the surface of a few thorns and whins with which some parts of it was covered, and removed every loose stone, and many of the fast ones, I began to plough the moor. This I found a most arduous undertaking, even with four large horses, attended by two men, besides the ploughman and driver, who assisted in keeping the plough in the ground, turning the furrows, and bringing to the surface all the stones we met. Having that season ploughed eight acres of moor, I allowed it to remain in the same state till the following winter, when it was cross ploughed, and by the three following ploughings it was reduced sufficiently. At every ploughing I continued to remove the stones, and used the harrows. Having then laid on thirty loads of lime, rubbish, and rich earth, with about twenty loads of dung per acre, I sowed in the months of July and August the whole with broadcast turnips, and fed them off by sheep, allowing these to go at large on the whole moor. This was followed by a crop of oats, and sown down by grass seeds. The oats were an excellent crop, returning from six to seven bolls per acre. Having found the grass to be very good pasture, I allowed it to remain for four years pastured, and then ploughed it for a crop of oats; but as I am now only employed in turning up what was first sown down, I cannot say what it will produce; but the appearance of the soil is equal to my expectations. In a manner exactly similar to what I have described, I have gone over about forty acres of the moor; with this difference only, that when my supply of lime, rubbish, and earth failed, I substituted about sixteen bolls Sunderland lime-shells to every acre, having slaked the lime and applied it immediately after. I have now, however, uniformly observed that the grass was better where I applied the rubbish than where the lime was applied. Having kept no exact account of the quantity of labour applied I cannot speak precisely of the expense. I was extremely fortunate in having got about 700 loads of rubbish for the trifling sum of £14. Although I had to drive 500 loads of this a distance of more than three miles, yet I consider the melioration of my moor to be in a great measure owing to this fortunate circumstance occurring at so favourable a season for my improvements. I have been frequently offered a rent of 20s. per acre for the grass on every part of the moor which I have improved; but I have every reason to hope that by ploughing it up and cropping it carefully it will return me more by a judicious rotation of crops."

Doubtless, it has puzzled many of the readers of the above communication as to where, within four miles, Mr Mackenzie could have procured such an immense quantity of lime-rubbish. We are in a position to offer a complete solution. It will be remembered that the ruined Castle of Dingwall and its grounds belonged to his father until within a few years previously. Although no attempt was ever made by the laird of Tulloch to implement the terms of the trust, he, in 1803, took steps to have the place tidied up, little now remaining of the historic building but a mound of rubbish. For that rubbish, as a matter of course, no price could be demanded of the late proprietor's son; its cost to him of sevenpence per load could, therefore, only mean that for labour in getting it ready for removal. This heavy cartage from Dingwall to Strathpeffer serves incidentally to inform us of a fact we might not otherwise know, that under the Statute Service Road Act of 1720, to be presently referred to, the highway between the two places must have been in excellent order; an altogether exceptional state of things for this period, and without doubt owing to its being frequently traversed by the powerful Cromartie Family.

A recently deceased writer (George Augustus Sala) in his remarks on the Czar's Highway, begins by saying that-"There is no such civilizer as a good road. With even an imperfect, highway disappear highwaymen, crawling beggars, lazy habits, ignorance, and waste lands. Our shops, our horses' legs, our boots, our hearts, have all benefited by the introduction of Macadam; and the eighteen modern improvements mentioned by Sydney Smith can all be traced directly, or indirectly, to the time when it fortuitously occurred to the astute Scotchman (where is his life of twenty volumes?) to strew our path with pulverised granite. I am convinced that our American cousins would be much less addicted to bowie-knifing, revolvering, expectorating, gun-slinging, and cow-hiding the members of their Legislature if they would only substitute trim, level, hedge-lined highways for the vile corduroy roads and railway tracks thrown slovenly anyhow, like the clothes on a drunken man, across prairies, morasses, half-cleared forests, and dried up water-courses by means of which they accomplish their thousand mile trips in search of dollars."

Without going quite so far as this, it must be conceded that as an element of national progress, the value of good roads can hardly be over-

estimated; nor—coming down to provincial requirements—can our county magnates be charged with undue remissness thereanent, as soon as they recognised its importance. In truth, the improvements in agriculture to which we have been endeavouring to draw attention, could hardly have occurred if there had not been going on simultaneously an improvement in roads. The former improvement would, indeed, in many cases lead to nothing, for what would be the good of producing grain crops if, in the absence of highways, the produce could not be conveyed to market?

Our ancestors in the brave days of old saw no occasion for better roads that the pathways and cattle-tracks in existence while the Stone Circles were in course of erection, and even when the immortal Wade was introducing his improvements these operations were openly condemned by the then guides of Highland opinion as merely tending to introduce interlopers, and render the people effeminate. Happily, these gentlemen in due time disappeared, and other views began to prevail. The Statute Service Road Act of 1720, long a dead letter except in such cases as the Strathpeffer Road, had but little attention paid to its enactments. Its administrators were the Justices of the Peace, but it is to be feared that if not systematically, it was in most cases practically ignored.

The first serious attempt to use Statute Labour towards making passable roads was in 1809 or 1810, when under the convenership of Sheriff Macleod of Geanies, the provisions of the Act, George III., C. 53, were adopted, and bye-laws instituted for enforcing the Statute Labour Act, or commuting it by money payments.

But the great step towards opening up the Highlands was the construction of the Parliamentary Road from Perth to Wick, begun about 1803, and finished about 1821, after plans by the capable Telford. This truly national work cost no less than £540,000, of which sum £276,000 was supplied by the Government, and the remainder by local assessments. In extreme length the Great North Road measures 875 statute miles, and is carried over 1500 bridges. The tax for its upkeep, notwith-standing the annual Government subsidy of £5000, lay with such crushing weight on the Commissioners of the counties traversed, that on the recommendation of their engineer, Joseph Mitchell, toll-bars were placed at suitable places all along the line to collect the dues leviable

on the vehicles and animals using the road. This continued until the Ross and Cromarty Act of 1866 came into operation, when the present preferable method was adopted.

These facts, however, though summing up the means by which our excellent roads were made and are maintained, convey little, if any, idea of the condition of things which they superseded, or the painful work the gentlemen interested had to go through before things were brought to their present efficiency.

It cannot be said that the king's highway in the most populous division of the county was any worse than the roads in other portions of the Highlands, yet the following extract of a letter addressed to the "Inverness Journal," the writer of which the editor describes as a respectable correspondent, reveals with great clearness what hideous impediments to social progress were at that period in course of removal. It is dated 19th May, 1809, and describes the state of the highway between Beauly and Scuddel Ferry (Conon Village). "It is in the highest degree dangerous to those who have to pass that way in a carriage. To the extent of a mile, or more, large masses of stone have been thrown up on the road, preparatory, it would appear, to be broken up for mending the road, on either side of which there is barely room left at present for a carriage to pass without the greatest danger of being upset, or knocked to pieces against the rocks projecting from the roadway. Nor is the risk less at the ferry itself at present; the new bridge over the Conon being as yet only passable for foot passengers, and the horse-boat, abandoned by the ferrymen, is no longer safe for taking a carriage across, etc." Great indeed is the power of the Press! foregoing letter seems to have had the happiest effect. Two months later we find it reported that "the road between Beauly and Scuddel Ferry is being carried on with spirit, and promises to be speedily executed in a creditable manner."

We find under date of June 2nd, of the same year, an advertisement from the trustees of the Fourth District of the county of Ross, requiring the services of a properly qualified person to make a road from Dingwall to Conon-Bridge, offers to be sent to Sir George Mackenzie of Coul, until the 17th inst. During the same month the Commissioners of Highland Roads and Bridges report that "the Lochcarron Road was to be speedily commenced, Mr Innes, of Lochalsh, undertaking the construction of the

western division." It was at the same time mentioned that a proposal was on foot to extend the improvements from Dingwall to Alness bridge, and from thence to Easter Fearn, on the Dornoch Firth. Thus, from one end of the county to the other the work of road-making went merrily forward, so that, when in October, the existing and handsome bridge over the Conon was handed over in a finished state to the Commissioners, it would appear that Ross was the first county in the Highlands wherein the main road was completed. The fact of its practical completion is indicated for us in a most unmistakable manner by an advertisement appearing in the same newspaper to the effect that a "Diligence" had commenced running between Inverness and Tain on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and between the latter place and the former on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays; attention, at the same time, being again called to the great distance between the two towns of forty-four miles being covered in one day! The battle of Talaverra was fought during these very days, but we cannot doubt that the presence of the "Diligence" was considered out of sight the greater sensation of the two!

The road from Dingwall through Strathpeffer to the West Coast, with Poolewe and Ullapool respectively for the termini, was not completed for years after the main artery of communication was The first stage was by no means the easiest. We have finished. already pointed out that from time immemorial a road had existed from Dingwall to Strathpeffer. As has been shown, it ran as a continuation of the High Street, or what was then the High Street, and probably close to the base of the hill, towards Ledavargid, along the base of Knockbain, on the site of the existing Strathpeffer Railway, and joined the present road not far from the Fodderty churchyard. Telford, however, influenced probably by Tulloch, Hilton, and the Cromartie Family proposed, with all the authority of his position, to drive the roadway through the Dingwall bog, as the basin of the tidal lake of our early chapters had become by the silting and vegetation of eight hundred years. He showed that by the deep drains which the scheme would involve, followed by a straightened course for the Peffery, and by cutting a deep channel for it to the sea, the reclamation of the bog would be possible nay, certain. His suggestion was adopted, with this difference, that the Dingwall Canal was substituted for the proposed channel. The road was also begun, proved a tedious affair, though a monument of good

work, so much so that it was far from being completed in 1816, many of the disbanded militiamen finding employment thereat.

Under date 26th June, 1812, we find an advertisement for contractors to build a bridge over the Blackwater, near Contin, agreeably to a plan and specification by Mr Thomas Telford, engineer; one of the arches to be of fifty feet span, another forty-five, and another forty. It does not appear that an acceptable offer was made, for we find that next year the same bridge is to be contracted for in connection with that line of road extending from Auchnasheen to the small bay called Ruorroar, on the south side of Loch Maree, that is to 11 miles, 1012 yards, to which Sir Hector Munro Mackenzie largely contributed, and in all requiring forty-one arches of different sizes, besides the bridge of three over the Garve.

The Garve and Ullapool road, however would seem to have given more annovance to those concerned than all the others put together, and all through the stinginess of the Government—who were the paymasters -and the typical conduct of the contractor, a Kenneth Mackenzie, of Torridon. It had been surveyed as early as 1790, by Mr George Brown, was found to measure thirty-five miles in length, and estimated to cost £7733, a sum which the Government of the day thought excessive. The contractor was equal to the occasion; he offered to do it for £,4400, and by a penny-wise-pound-foolish policy, his offer was accepted. pursuance of the same policy no efficient inspector was appointed, and the consequence was that the contractor, to protect himself from loss, did the work in such a flimsy manner that in a few years it had become impassable, a late flood, besides, destroying two of the bridges. June, 1809, a resurvey was proposed, but the Commissioners refused to take the matter into consideration until they receive an assurance that a moiety at least of the sum required for building the bridges is advanced for the purpose." Lord Seaforth is on the same occasion reported to be ready to contribute a moiety of the sum required for making a road across the Lewis from Stornoway to Loch Roag.

It would appear that not a moiety only but the whole cost of the Garve and Ullapool road had to be found by the Government, a new survey was also found indispensable, for the old route had serious defects, so that instead of, as before, climbing the steep face of Craggan-aneachglas, it now follows the course of the Black Water, the

Clach-na-charnich burn, and by that way over the Dirie Mor. It is now agreed upon all hands that the only further improvement conceivable, is the proposed railway scheme, which, indeed, but for the insistence of an absurd competitive project, might now be a realised fact.

It was at one time thought that by having popularly elected local parliaments every clamant social deficiency, at least in the department of public roads, would be promptly met with and overcome. The notion has turned out a delusion. By the Act, impoverished or crass proprietors may not only themselves neglect the district roads on their properties, but prevent their repair by County Councils or anyone else, so that in certain districts, and as a result of this state of things, the people, from the impossibility of using wheel vehicles, will have to revert to the methods of their great-grandfathers, and convey their grain to mill or market by means of pack-horses. Surely this is carrying the sacred rights of property a little too far!

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE GLORIES OF THE FEIL MAREE.*

THE recollections of the writer with respect to the development of social phenomena and industrial habits of Central Ross date from the Reform Bill period. These, if rightly handled, should go far towards furnishing his readers with a body of materials whereby to appreciate the many changes which have occurred during the succeeding years in the manners and pursuits of the people. The following pages are intended to supply these materials.

But while marshalling data for this purpose, another, and still more important, end has been kept in view. For lack of observers with sufficient skill to record what was passing around them the life led by the people—really the most important department of history—during the successive periods treated in this book, has to all intents and purposes been lost. This fact, which he has had frequent occasion to deplore, falls to be credited with his resolve to contribute somewhat towards preventing the circumstances attendant upon the struggle for existence seventy years ago from being similarly swallowed up by oblivion, thus contributing to a knowledge of what the people were from a knowledge of what they did.

Obviously, the field is wide and abounds in pitfalls, while the manner in which is was to be traversed demanded careful consideration, since

^{*}Various theories have been ventilated with respect to the origin of the name "Maree" as applied to a market. We shall not go over these, but give our own. Within a bow shot of the stance at Contin, where for ages this fair was held, there is to be seen the collection of pre-historic remains termed the Press Maree. We have no hesitation whatever in believing that the market took its name from these remains or from what their existence there purported. But what of the name or term "Maree" itself, identical—it will be noted—with that of the celebrated loch? There is no reason to doubt Loch Maree derives its name from the Ellan Mourie which forms one of its most conspicuous features, and with respect to that personage, after whom it is named, we have in a previous chapter given our views at some length. If these are accepted it will follow that for this deified heathen Esculapius, a site where his worship might be celebrated was established in Central Ross, and in due time became a trysting place where business, as in the case of a noted Bible incident, became associated with the form of heathenism current. We have termed the foregoing our theory; we are aware of many historic events, believed to be authentic, which have a vastly filmsier basis.

the ordinary reader, chiefly for whose information we write, has a rooted prejudice in favour of the concrete and concise over the didactic and diffuse. It followed that in the narration strict limitation with respect to time and space was indispensable; instead of a multitude of dry details—answering to a map or plan—something analogous to an isometric projection would have to be resorted to, which though limited as to minutiæ would have the valuable property of conveying to the mind a satisfying view of the entire subject. In these circumstances the "Feil Maree" was found to lend itself in an especial manner to the design, for all over the Machair of Ross "Feilen," or markets, were the more important and characteristic social gatherings of the year, and, accordingly, a description of one of these now extinct festivals when at their best will be found to include that of the industries, the social habits, and even the personal aspects of the people of the time. The "Feil" in question being a local institution it follows that the county town where it was held—itself a sufficiently quaint element in the scene-will call for a brief notice, but, in passing, it may be remarked that the markets there differed but little from those held in the rival burgh to the north, where, also, they have ceased to exist.

To begin with, the population of Dingwall seventy years ago was little more than a fourth of what it is now. The High Street, where the bulk of buyers and sellers were assembled, was then not so wide as to-day. Though, probably, a fifth of the houses of the burgh then existing are still standing, the town, except for these and its characteristic lanes, would be barely recognisable to its citizens of that time should they be permitted now to revisit the glimpses of the moon. The population comprised two classes, which we will take the liberty of terming "aborigines" and settlers. The former, and not a few of the latter, were essentially coarse-grained and barbarous; the latter, generally speaking a higher type, consisted of families expatriated from the straths and glens to make room for sheep, and also such new-comers as the permanent staff of the Ross-shire Militia. The "aborigine," after the manner of his kind, has all but disappeared, nor does the fact call for regret. The men, though, perhaps, blacksmiths or labourers by trade, prided themselves chiefly on their fistic talents, and were known in those days as "bullies"-light, medium, or heavy weight, according to circumstances. Usually, however, they did not feel called upon to

distinguish themselves in this direction exc pt when under the influence of drink-not always to be had, though then obtainable at half the present price, wages being in proportion. Their doxies were in every way worthy of their lords. They had a talent for railing which would move the envy of a Yankee editor, and were frequently found in broad day, and in presence of many kindred spirits, exchanging shots with an obnoxious neighbour over the way, when the antecedents of their respective families, up to and beyond great-grandmothers—were exposed. The burgh police consisted of the two town's officers, who made a show -it was nothing better-of keeping the peace upon market days. the same time there was in evidence all over the place an amount of sterling piety which the present generation has seen nothing to equal, and to that influence for good the people we have just tried to describe were far more amenable than to the Magistrate and town's officer, such as they were. It is allowed that this influence was largely due to what was probably the first evangelical ministry in Dingwall since the era of the Culdees-the short-lived pastorate of Dr Stewart.

At the period whereof we write "markets" of more or less importance were held in the burgh monthly, three being of outstanding importance, one of which (as already stated) we have selected for description here. From of old till 1830 the "Feil Maree" was held on its appropriate day, the first Thursday of September, in Contin, but as a result of the several days' drinking and fighting with which it was invariably celebrated Sir George Mackenzie of Coul, by a supreme effort, had it transferred to Dingwall, where for a few years it continued to flourish until it ultimately became extinct. When it is stated that "Feil Maree" was attended by the bulk of the adult population of the parishes of Contin, Fodderty, Kiltearn, Alness, Resolis, Ferintosh, Knockbain, Killearnan, and Urray, together with a strong contingent of fisher-folk from Inver, Shandwick, and Balintore, an idea may be had of the multitudes which on that day thronged the High Street of Dingwall from Grant Street eastward, also much of Church Street, and Tulloch Street down to Peter's Bridge.

Though observed by the younger people especially as a mere holiday it was quite otherwise with respect to their seniors, buying and selling in dead earnest forming the business and pleasure of the overwhelming majority. Before engaging in our special duty it may be well to state that although a good deal of specie changed hands on these occasions, the proportion which found its way into the tills of the local traders was but trifling, the greater part going into the pockets of the vintners and brewers—a class then greatly more numerous than at present.

Dress has come to be considered the symbol of social refinement and the amenities it induces, and forms part of that ever-increasing apparatus assumed to be necessary for the creation and conservation of human happiness. As the result of long observation we greatly doubt the value of the symbol, though allowing that the necessity for wearing badly-made or threadbare clothes in the presence of our equals and superiors occasions very distressing feelings. To us what passes for that negation—happiness—hears no relation to the costliness, cut, or trimmings, ornamental or otherwise, of our garments, these things connecting themselves rather with good wages, short hours, and the prevalence of fashion-plates, and we also greatly doubt whether the crowd-not to be distinguished from an Edinburgh or Glasgow oneassembled to welcome Colonel Hector Macdonald on 11th May, 1899, were a whit less miserable than that which assembled in the same street to celebrate the "Feil Marce Market" in 1830, albeit the units composing it were merely, yet decently, clad in home-spuns and corderoys, and hats well-nigh as rare as millionaires. The facts, as we take them, simply meant that money was scarce and the opportunities for earning it infrequent, and that the virtues of industry and economy were more rigorously practiced than at the latter date, the families represented doing within their own walls those offices now performed for them by many specialists.

But while assigning to the reader the privilege of making the remaining reflections, we shall now suppose that mid-day has arrived, that the "Feil" is in full swing, and that duty calls us—description bent—to force our way through a crowd quite as dense and immensely greater than that seen at the gallery door of a London Theatre on the first night of a Pantomine. On an occasion where the sexes appeared in about equal proportions it is but fitting that precedence should be given to the more gentle, and, accordingly, we shall begin with the unmarried portion, a condition then clearly distinguishable by dress—fashion at that period not having promulgated an obliterating decree.

The "snood" (vide Jenny Deans) though in evidence, does not

appear to have been generally worn in Ross, but except by a few pioneers of fashion in the towns, the girls invariably appeared on these occasions bareheaded, though coquetry abundantly declared itself by the manner in which the hair was done up, ringlets being general, while large combs of elaborate design held the "back hair" in position, and others of curved pattern accounted similarly for the ringlet arrangements; umbrellas then, as now, protecting from a passing shower. Then, while bright cotton print formed the chief dress material of the season. the person was invariably wrapped up in a handsome shawl or plaid, sometimes of Paisley, but usually of domestic or local manufacture. From the vigorous flirtations with their male victims—whose purses were made to "bleed" in various ways-carried on all day, it is believed that as a means of their enslavement these toilettes were quite as efficient as the more elaborate tailor-made apparel of to-day, with tousled hair, and "stylish hats of London design," which, in the occupiers of back seats in churches and halls, induces so much "sotto voce" profanity. Many town matrons-on bargain-hunting bent-are in evidence, and easily distinguished from their country sisters by their snow-white muslin mutches, elaborately frilled, the symbol, by the way, of conjugal rank, and then the height of indecency to appear without.

But the country matron when, on these occasions, seen dispensing goods of her own manufacture is she to whom we would chiefly direct attention, more especially since her manufactures, "gawsy" sonsie figure and characteristic costume, have long ago disappeared. Her "shop," so to speak, must, however, have previous mention.

From dawn till mid-day many scores of carts laden with produce have been driving into the burgh, while the placing of these so that they constituted but a minimum of obstruction was one of the leading duties of the town's officers. This done, the horse is at once removed, and surrounded on all sides by the products of her own industry—her lord and master for the time reduced to a position of insignificance—our matron sits enthroned. Her ample person is invariably clad in a dress of home-manufactured wincey (her hooded cloak—blue, black, and sometimes scarlet, West of England cloth—lasting a life-time, is, for business reasons, folded by), a broad linen collar cases her neck, a cap of peculiar design adorns her head, which latter, since it constituted the sort worn by nine-tenths of the matrons of the Province, we shall, with

fear and trembling, attempt to describe. A sketch has been given of the town matron's head-gear; in the one before us the mighty frills enclosing the face like an aureola are awanting, a deficiency more than compensated for by the lofty crown, constructed so as to afford room for the still cherished "caping-comb" of maidenhood. Besides, it was usually built of more costly materials than its urban substitute, fine linen net and even lace over an under cap formed of ribbons in which red predominated being conspicuous, and it must be admitted that it really did confer a matronly dignity on the wearer, and as compared with which the existing toque is simply and in terms a monstrosity.

The ploughman and labourer class appeared, as a rule, in moleskins and corderoys, then aired for the first time; artizans, on the other hand, with a greater eye to refinement, were frequently seen in brass-buttoned blue dress coats, their vests and trousers of white moleskin, but since the greater bulk of the adults present were of the crofter and small farmer class their substantial persons were with all fitness incased in clothusually of a dark hue-the yarn of which, woven into cloth by the local webster, was both spun and dyed by their women-kind. Boys were there, as a matter of course, in quantity, but differing from their modern representatives chiefly by the fact that until arrived at an age when these luxuries could be supplied by their own labour, they, with rare exceptions, went bare-headed and bare-footed; nor so long as the weather continued good was this deemed a hardship, swiftness of foot being then, as now, deemed a desirable accomplishment, and to which clumsy shoes by no means conduced. So much for the appearance presented by the people, and we have greatly failed if the impression has not been conveyed that here was a population as far removed from sordid poverty and barbarity on the one hand as from ostentatious refinement on the other, and on this point we must be excused when we hold that the old days were the best.

But what were the articles bought and sold on those occasions? By way of answer let us here, on our progress eastward, and by the shady side of the street, halt at the first cart—a late arrival, probably from Strathconon or Strathbraan—and report what we see. The goods here offered for sale consist of several cwts. of salted butter in jars and kebbucks, together with several stones of that extinct variety of cheese, tasteful indeed to the mouth, but of such solid manufacture that few

other than Highland teeth are equal to its mastication. The dealer is, of course, one of the matrons previously described, the customers thronged around being the townsmen and women, busily cheapening and depreciating in mellifluous Gaelic, but at the same time eager buyers. These articles had been accumulating during the summer and autumn in the "bothan 'n 'ari" (mountain sheilings), whither the cows had been driven for pasturage, a state of things which, while conveying to the mind that of a literal Arcadia, has, we regret to say, long ago and finally succumbed to the march—so called—of improvements. It may be mentioned here that at that time eightpence per pound for even such rich and fragrant butter was considered high, about half that price being usually demanded for the cheese; prices, however, in strict correspondence with both the urban and rural economics of the period.

After passing several other groups similarly engaged we arrive at a dealer offering for sale country-made cloth of various kinds. The matron here is the wife of a township or country weaver, the goods-homespuns for male wear, winceys, plaids, serges, and blankets-being the product of the family industry during the previous winter, spring, and summer; the wool entering the house in the fleece and emerging in finished, if in somewhat coarse fabrics; the washing, spinning, dyeing and weaving being all done there. The goods, being both cheap and serviceable, we find them in large demand, especially by those who on various accounts are not able to produce for themselves, thus affording ample encouragement to the humble manufacturer. But, alas! by the march of progress in Ross, and within a few years, village manufacturer's have ceased to exist, though the success which has attended the introduction into fashionable life of the Harris tweeds points to the conclusion that in outlying districts, where the industry has not actually died of neglect, much may be done, not only for its resuscitation, but towards placing it on a more favourable footing than ever.

Our business being the describing of types rather than the recounting of quantities, we pass from the cloth-makers to another and also extinct industry—brogue-making.

Nearly in front of Provost Stewart's establishment we find the broguers occupying about a score of yards close to the side-walk, their goods laid out in rows upon straw, and awaiting customers. Usually about a dozen in number, they constitute the sole survivors of a once

numerous class. They lived and supplemented a little crofting by this manufacture in the Tore and Artafaillie district, and since it formed one of the most interesting Highland industries then in evidence it deserves, and shall here receive, from one presumably fully qualified, accurate description.

We approach and pick up a brogue, and first notice that it is made on the straight, or reversible principle—not without obvious advantages —and that it is pointed in the toe; that it is cut not materially dissimilar from the existing Lorne shoe, and adapted for fastening on, either by buckles, or points (bareilen); that the upper as well as the bottom is formed of home tanned leather, and consisting of fewer pieces than any foot gear previously known to us; that it is held together on the "sewround," or slipper prinicple, with a difference, the sewing material being thongs of horse hide—not liable to rip—a "welt" thinned on one edge to nothing being inserted in the seam, the result being that when "turned" and the "last" reinserted the "sole" is found to have a level character and its edge a bolder appearance than would be otherwise possible. A "top-piece" was added to increase the height of the heel, the whole subjected to a "paring" operation, the upper blackened with copperas, and the brogue was held to be finished. As might well be anticipated it was by no means waterproof—a virtue not appreciated by the hardy Highlanders-but for a long march over the heather or primitive roads, yielding as it did to the foot, and of trifling weight, the Highland brogue was simply unapproachable. Historians and military men both have been lost in wonder at the apparently superhuman marches with which the fighting Gael has to be credited, and which it was felt the kilt but partially accounted for. Plainly they never heard of the actual, as distinct from the fanciful, Highland brogue, the invariable foot gear of Chieftain and follower alike, here, so far as is known to the writer, described for the first time. As a result we doubt not but that to at least the military man the difficulty will be considered solved, and though the improvements in our roads introduced by Macadam have rendered its resuscitation impossible, something is gained by knowing how even to our hardy forefathers a succession of fifty miles a day marches was possible. It may be added here that the article in question could be had at a very low price. Half-a-crown purchased those of full-size, while a couple of shillings served for those of a boy,

who, by the way, hated to be seen in them from their unfitness for the sport of "sliding" during winter.

Passing eastward we arrive at an open space, whereon the existing Argyle Buildings were erected, and find ourselves surrounded on all sides by dairy produce, and feel well-nigh deafened by the bargaining in shrill female tones characteristic of the place. As, however, the goods in question, as well as the typical dealer and buyer, have already been noticed, we shall resume our tour of inspection, but on passing out of the enclosure we stumble upon those having poultry and eggs for sale. The display is by no means large, for these goods are marketable all the year round, but while looking on we hear a possible customer inquiring the price of a fat hen, and feel nowise surprised to hear that it can be had for sixpence, eggs being at the same time offered for threepence per dozen.

On regaining the street we come upon the representatives of another well-night extinct industry, then termed for brevity that of the cooper. It behoved this artizan to be, and he frequently was, a mechanical genius, for his products were various and complicated. He usually lived and had his workshop in a district where both soft and hard wood was in abundance and cheap—that is on the western side of the Firth. might be seen from several well-filled carts now before us, he made barrels, tubs, and churns, and if required would, with cheerful indifference to his country's laws, produce vats for brewing purposes, legal and illegal. But he was an expert turner as well, as the spinningwheels, yarn-reels, bowls, and ladles of all sizes here offered for sale abundantly showed. On due encouragement being given, and suitable material in stock, he made bagpipes, though the national instrument was not on this occasion visible. We now find him surrounded by matrons who had succeeded in disposing of their own produce, and were, with a view to purchase, and in strident tones, cheapening his productions. The articles in question were evidently in demand, for when passing westward an hour or so thereafter we find the coopers, with jubilant countenances, resting from their labours in their empty carts, and comparing notes with each other. The general decay, however, of the forementioned home industries proved fatal to that of the cooper, and except that an old man here and there attends to strictly local requirements and repairs, the calling may be said to be extinct.

Owing to its obvious want of connection with any local industry, we might overlook the long row of tables we next encounter, presided over by Inverness huxters chiefly, and offering for sale cheap hardware and confectionary, were it not that we find them surrounded all day long by numbers of marriageable lads and lasses attending the "Feil" solely for the enjoyment of a holiday, and some vigorous if innocent flirtation. As illustrative of the manners of the period their behaviour, when so engaged, may be allowed to call for a brief notice.

Strong in numbers, precision of attack, and the degree of license proper to the occasion, the girls have a decided advantage over the male creature, nor do they fail to utilise it during the contest of wits then in progress. They fling bright glances and (in Gaelic, of course, and still the better for that) lively repartees at the latter, and though in his own clumsy way he may attempt a reply in similar coin he is ultimately glad to compound, to the serious depletion of his purse, in such "fairings" (sweets, ribbons, combs, etc.) as his fair tormentor sees fit to demand. Since this game, be it remembered, went on within a limited area, and in fifty different places at once, the resulting fun and laughter may without much effort be imagined, but obviously does not lend itself to description. It is not to be supposed, however, that the love of mere amusement quite ruled the situation. In many cases it is probable a life partnership between the parties had previously been agreed upon, female perversity merely, and a love of admiration, forming the basis for this the last fling before assuming the gawcy cap and hooded cloak proper to the matron, wherein the girl knew her chief charms would be so concealed as to be barely recognisable. Happy looked the rustic whose bright particular star was recognised as a leading belle, and high did he hold his head when tacitly seeking his protection she stood close to him! Nor was the protection altogether on one side. Vile pothouses, as we have already mentioned, were present in almost every lane, and besides being themselves dangerous conduced to every other mischief, and there was, next, the gaudy recruiting party parading the streets, and holding out inducements to a military life clearly traceable to the father of lies. From these, while thus accompanied, he was, however, quite safe, and usually she succeeded, before the evening rioting commenced, in making him her escort home.

We have thus exhausted the industrial exhibits to which the shady

side of High Street was assigned, but before describing those displayed opposite we shall, on a like errand, proceed down Tulloch Street, then known as the New Road, and, as has been said, recently opened for traffic. The road, having then wide spaces of vacant ground on both sides, formed the live stock market-stance, and from the nature of the merchandise shown is, we find, by no means so crowded as the main street. Here are for sale, and in quantities, pigs, big and little, lambs and sheep, cows and calves, while opposite the church-yard are many horses, from the screw, just discharged from the mail-coach service, to the serviceable cob and cart-horse. The chief coupers are members of the Tubal-Cain fraternity, ready to meet all-comers, for a sale or a "swop," and meanwhile their womankind are there and elsewhere busily hawking the tin and horn goods of encampment manufacture. Here, too, are a series of booths erected for the convenience of live-stock dealers by the local public-house keepers, and where they dispense vast quantities of that dubious compound "market whisky," over which most of the sales and swops are finally adjusted, previous feuds inflamed, and often temporarily adjusted by a fistic encounter later on.

A step or two further brings us to Peter's Bridge, where we find the Shandwick and Balintore fleet securely moored. It had arrived by the early tide, laden with fresh and salted fish, which were promptly carted up to the appropriate market-place, and which, with its crews as salesmen, shall meet us later on. One of the hands, we find, remains in charge of each boat, not, of course, by way of guard, but to dispense a coarse, evil-smelling fish oil of home manufacture, which, on account of its cheapness—its only virtue— is largely bought by both the rural and urban population as an illuminant for the coming winter.

Having regained the High Street, and while proceeding only a short distance westward, we come upon the fisher folk and what seems to be an interminable row of fish creels containing fresh haddocks, smoked ditto, and salted cod, which those Easter Ross mariners are busily converting into money. The supply is indeed large, but so also is the demand. The fish industry at the present date, and so far as the upper reaches of the Moray Firth are concerned, though it cannot be said to be extinct, has that fate manifestly impending, and the cause we should very much like to have explained. At this hour in Ross, viewed as food, fish costs about as much as butcher meat, and is even

then of inferior quality to that which we are now by an exercise of memory examining. The reader will hardly believe the fact, for which we personally vouch, that a haddock for which at present ninepence or tenpence would be demanded and conceded, could then be had for a penny, while two or more of the smaller ones cost no more. Is the harvest of the sea giving out, or have the reapers become too numerous? We have tried, in what has gone before to explain why several local industries have disappeared, but this, our coast white fishery, we find to be above us, and must perforce leave it to the more knowing.

But the Easter Ross men are not the only representatives present of our fishing population, there are perhaps a dozen carts ranged upon both sides of Church Street, hailing all the way from Lochcarron and Lochbroom, laden with partially salted cod, and herrings salted and smoked ("scattan shiamaun"). West Coast cod fish was considered decidedly inferior to that caught in the Moray Firth, herrings, on the other hand, and from the same district, were, from their manifest superiority, eagerly sought after, while those from the East Coast suffered from neglect.

Reference has already been made to the fact that our local traders, especially those dealing in soft goods, were not materially benefited by these trysts, chiefly owing, it is believed, to the prevailing partiality proper to these occasions for open-air trading. The more enterprising, however, strove to meet this prejudice half-way. Two or more of our drapers—they were then, like the conies, a feeble folk—associated with an unwelcome contingent of the like calling from Inverness, erected for themselves booths—open in front—of sheeting, along the whole front of the Municipal buildings. Here they tempted the female population with displays of their showiest goods, expatiated upon their extraordinary quality and cheapness, and really succeeded in doing a considerable amount of business by these methods. It would appear that in this mode of bringing goods to the customer instead of waiting until he or she came to the goods, we have a survival of the period when the tradesmen of the town of Inverness had, or claimed to have, by "Golden" or other charters, a trade monopoly, extending over all the other burghs to the north, with much vexatious litigation as a result, and from which the Charter of Incorporation, granted by Alexander II., with difficulty exempted the burgh of Dingwall.

We will not allow ourselves to be detained by what next meets us, viz., a collection of potato baskets, sieves, and fans (dallanin-hoops on which skins were distended) further than to remark that by these last being still offered for sale we have proof that the fanners has not yet come into universal use. We shall also pass over, without notice, shows, pipers, and ballad singers, all of them alien products, and merely serving to render the noise more distracting, and pass on, and in the last place, to what was then at every market an outstanding feature, the Ready-made Shoe department. It is in the hands of thirty or more elderly men, some of these from Inverness, but by far the greater part from the Channonry of Ross. The goods here offered for sale on tables hired from the inhabitants were totally dissimilar from those of the broguers over the way, being in close imitation—material and workmanship—of current methods, and being made out of indifferent materials and in quantities, sold cheap, and accordingly obtained a ready sale.

How this industry—now wholly extinct—had obtained a footing in the towns in question has long formed a standing puzzle to local antiquaries, and various guesses of dubious value have from time to time being made thereanent. We here volunteer a solution which to us, at least, bears a show of probability.

That the "gentle craft" had many representatives in Cromwell's army is a matter of historic fact, while it is equally well-known that during the Protectorate, and in the Highlands, Inverness formed the headquarters of that invincible soldiery. Elsewhere, and particularly in Ross, their duties were chiefly those of an armed police, involving a constant shifting of quarters, and that, too, among a population alien in speech and utterly alien in habits. What skill in sedentary crafts its members possessed would, therefore, except as meeting the necessities of their comrades, remain in abeyance. It was different with respect to Inverness and other towns on the Moray Firth. The famous Citadel of the former place took two years to build, and involved a long residence, for that period, on the part of those members of the building trades who had adopted the profession of arms, while on its completion they, with the sedentary craftsmen and others, went for eight years to form its standing garrison of 2000 men, their duty being to keep the peace between the Farrar and the Spey. Here their unquestionable skill could not fail to incite imitation. Further, being purely a volunteer force, its members, when fighting was not imminent, and a favourable opening occurring, found no difficulty in obtaining their discharge, and no one doubts but quite a number actually did so, becoming permanent citizens of these towns, and particularly of Inverness, and from the testimony of one of its ministers, already referred to, did much to make it the prosperous place it has since been. To these men, accordingly, we ascribe the introduction of that improved foot gear and the origin of that industry which, at least in the towns, superseded the productions of the broguer.

It will be allowed that the past seventy years have been fruitful of more permanent changes in the habits and industries of the people than the preceding century and a half, notwithstanding that Sheriffmuir, Culloden, and the Evictions occurred during that period, so that though the transition stage had actually arrived, the sketches we have given of things as they appeared at the "Feil Maree" will be allowed to go a good way in indicating for us the habits and industries of a period long anterior. If this is conceded our account of the "Feil" will, if Hallam's dictum is to be considered valid, do more towards supplying a living history of Ross than all the previous pages put together, important though the recovery of the Provincial annals from the fast closing waters of oblivion may be held to be.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE History of Ross during the first half of the 19th century might well be expanded into a portly volume; we purpose, however, while endeavouring to sketch every salient incident, and the social and ecclesiastical developments occurring during that period, to compress our story into one—if somewhat lengthy—chapter.

Improvements in agriculture and road-making, already referred to, continued to engage the attention of its leading gentlemen during the first fifteen years of the century, nor was the interest taken by the people in the national policy of putting down, regardless of cost, the Napoleonic regime very much less. The regiments hailing from the county, however, do not appear to have had much of the actual fighting to do, either in the Peninsula or at Waterloo—the 78th missing the decisive battle by a day's march; though at Maida they indicated what they were capable of should occasion serve. They, moreover, had no cause to complain of inaction; garrison duties in trying climates had to be done; a high degree of efficiency had to be maintained; while recruiting was pursued as it never was before or since.

But there was another regiment deriving its main strength from the county, and known as the Ross-shire, or 5th Regiment of British Militia, which, we think, deserves more than a passing notice. It was recruited by ballot, and having the three northern counties to draw upon, none were found in its ranks but the choicest Highlanders. It was, in consequence, with respect to physique, morals, and discipline, fully equal to any, and greatly superior to most regiments of the line. (See Napier's Hist. P. War, chap. I.) In it drill was after the old and severe Frederick the Great pattern, and, as a consequence, when "The Duke," time after time became emphatic in his demands for reinforcements, and permission with an offer of bounty was given to volunteer out of the

militia into the line, the opportunity was eagerly embraced by numbers; service in Spain being considered the least trying of the two. Such was the spirit of this noted corps in 1809 that it even volunteered "en masse" for service in the Peninsula; but as the law then stood, the various Commissioners of Supply had it in their power to veto this spirited conduct, and actually did so. The law in question was, however, altered two years afterwards, but for reasons which have not transpired, the regiment did not volunteer a second time. So highly, however, was its conduct in the former year appreciated by the War Office that for the first time since the era of the Commonwealth they, a militia regiment, were employed to garrison "The Tower," and that during the time when Sir Francis Burdett was filling the "role" of demagogue-in-chief. They subsequently volunteered for service in Ireland, and remained in garrison there for several years.

But there were also two other regiments raised in the county of the modern militia pattern, and doing twenty-eight days' drill per annum—the days of enrolling and dismissal not included—one in South Ross, its headquarters being in Dingwall; the other in North Ross, with its headquarters in Tain. Service in these corps—"The Tongs Army," as they were derisively termed—was attended by two advantages; it exempted the individual hero from the objectionable ballot, and it afforded him an opportunity of appearing in full war paint before the ladies at those balls by which the concluding review of the "Locals" was invariably celebrated, and of which the most divertingly gushing accounts may still be read in the files of old Inverness newspapers.

The first twenty years of the century were emphatically "hard years." Wages were low, notwithstanding that a large proportion of the population were in one way or other engaged in either defensive or offensive war; while prices were abnormally high. This may be readily apprehended from the fact that on the 6th September, 1809, Sheriff Macleod of Geanies obtained in the London market, for a rather superior sample of his wheat, the all but incredible price of £5 per quarter! As also showing the scarcity of money, we find the collector of taxes for Ross, threatening by public advertisement that unless arrears were promptly paid up, he would poind the goods of all defaulters, "be they who they may!" Obviously the "better classes" were referred to here.

Nor is the record of that particular year without a small proportion of serious crime, happily rare in Ross. On May 11th the whole north was shocked by a peculiarly appalling homicide, committed in the smithy of Balblair—a village in the Black Isle, opposite Invergordon—the victim being a Captain Charles Munro, of the 42nd Highlanders, there on a visit to his wife and family. It would appear that the unfortunate gentleman had gone to that centre of gossip to while away the time, and while there happened to engage in an altercation with a Robert Ferguson -a person of ungovernable temper-who, in a moment of homicidal rage, drew a large knife and plunged it in the officer's side. medical succour as the district afforded was speedily procured, but within twenty-eight hours after the occurrence Captain Munro succumbed to his injuries, leaving a widow and large family but scantily provided for. At the Circuit Court, on September following, before Lord Hermand, Ferguson was tried on the capital charge, was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged, his body to be given for dissection. This tragedy was soon thereafter made the subject of a mournful half-English half-Gaelic ballad, and but few elderly people in the Province are unfamiliar with its doleful refrain.

As might have been anticipated the straits of the great mass of the population, consequent on the high prices demanded for home produce, did not fail to awaken sympathy in the hearts of the leading social reformers of the period. They found it impossible to believe that these straits were merely those providential arrangements which sufferers ought to endure in silent submission. A failure of the harvest, owing to inclement seasons, usually affected but a limited area. therefore, they argued, sheer cruelty to prohibit a suffering country from having its wants supplied from those more favoured? True, the vast prairies of the West were still in a state of nature, but even then the Great Republic, and the Continent, had yearly for sale immense quantities of grain in excess of local requirements, and at a price little more than half of that demanded by the home farmers: why, the reformers added, should not these impediments be removed which hindered that abundance from reaching the empty stomachs of our famishing artizans? An answer to that question from those interested in keeping up prices was always forthcoming, but when fairly stated seemed better adapted to provoke laughter than to silence questioners.

Eloquence to the contrary notwithstanding, the people could not be made to see that high rents and the stability of the universe were of a piece; and as a result an agitation was inaugurated for abolishing the Corn Laws which, after incurring various fortunes for the next thirty-five years, was at last crowned with complete success.

We are not aware that the cause of Free Trade could ever boast of having a champion in Ross, but from first to last its gentlemen heritors and Commissioners of Supply argued on the other side with a vehemence that would have done credit to Demetrius and his craftsmen of Ephesian notoriety.

Their first meeting of which we have any record took place at Dingwall, on the 18th January, 1814, under the presidency of that laird of Geanies, referred to as having received the fabulous sum of £5 per quarter for his wheat. The meeting is described in the old newspapers as composed of the "Gentlemen Heritors" of the combined counties of Ross and Cromarty, met to consider the expediency of appealing to Parliament to withhold its consent to any abolition of the Corn Laws. The nature of the various speeches, and the terms of the preceding and succeeding resolutions may be readily understood from the fifth, which was as follows: -- "That when the importation of foreign corn is permitted, the competition which the British farmer would have to encounter in the home market would appear to be unfair and unjust because of the high rents, etc., he has to pay, on account of which it would be impossible for him to compete with foreign growers to whom similar burdens are unknown." Of what national importance was it to aim at filling at a reasonable rate the stomachs of the hungry population as compared with the continuance of high rents and a state of things, of which £5 per quarter obtainable for wheat was to be taken as the symbol!

We have referred to the frequently disastrous effects incident to our insular climate, and there were few districts in the Highlands which know not to their cost, and more or less yearly, what these effects were, though now the price of the staff of life—"frugal oatmeal"—does not appear to be in the least affected thereby; for though the little local rill becomes partially or wholly dried up, the great Atlantic supply is available to make the deficiency good, and anxiety is thrown to the winds. It was quite otherwise within the memory of multitudes

still living. The "staff" referred to was frequently twice the price it is now, and as harvest drew near the weather came to be watched with an interest now only experienced by holiday-makers. If rain fell abnormally, so as to endanger the oat crop, the meal market exhibited a sensitiveness akin to the money market, and prices went up with a bound. Did a favourable change occur prices—as a measure of security -remained at the point gained. Did the weather continue unfavourable, the price of meal rose still higher, and became even difficult to From the difficulty of communication partial famine might exist in one parish, while in a couple of parishes away abundance reigned. But there were seasons such as those of 1782-83, known as the year of the White Peas, when over the whole Highlands the entire crops had been a failure, and stories were told of it which we would not care to repeat. There partial failures of the crops in various districts during the years 1807-08, 1817-18, and 1836-37, reducing many of the labouring populations of the East Coast to great straits, while those in parts of the west made a close acquaintance with the horrors of famine.

Nature's remedy for these hardships was at last applied, but although she had been prescribing it for many years, not until the failure of the potato crop, in 1846, had added the last ingredient to the cup of endurance did the powers which then ruled allow the kind physician have her way.

That year, and the greater part of the next, having formed a memorable period in the experience of the people of Ross, we shall anticipate those events which in order of date should form the conclusion of this chapter, by the following interesting narrative ready to our hand in an unpublished MS., the work of an open-eyed contemporary, then an apprentice, endowed with an excellent digestion, and in receipt of but 3s. a week wherewithal, in a time of scarcity, to appease it. He writes:—

"The various shifts to which the lower orders in our towns and villages were then put, in order to make both ends meet, can hardly be made intelligible to the existing generation. Oat meal and potatoes formed their staple food, while with respect to the latter—the consumer was also in most cases the cultivator. In furtherance of this the family refuse was carefully preserved and by various expediencies largely augmented (sanitary science being then in the alphabetic stage) and put

to use in the following way. It was then the habit of the kindly farmers in the neighbourhood, as it still is in a minute degree, with the view of having their old grass lands thoroughly weeded, to apportion to applicants for a nominal sum, or service, as much land already ploughed as they were capable of sufficiently manuring. The produce resulting, formed the main stay of the family for the next nine months.

"Unlike subsequent visitations, the destruction of the potato crop in the year 1846 was accomplished in one night. The catastrophe was preceded by a period of comparative drought, but not of such a character as to injure materially the grain crop, while the potatoes—the bulbs then in course of formation—never looked more promising.

"During the day which preceded the visitation-I write of what occurred in the vicinity of the county town—a peculiar sultriness was observable in the atmosphere, while as evening drew on the heavens became obscured with clouds of a smoky lurid character. Shortly after ten o'clock there occurred one thunder peal, and no more, but it resembled a collapse of the empyrean, and was followed by heavy rain. The salvo, however, occasioned little remark until it was observed next morning that the magnificent potato crop belonging to the people in the aforesaid manner, and which covered the Mickle Field, had during the night become of a rusty brown, while emitting a foul odour, and it became at once apparent that the peculiar thunder peal was the precursor of a poisonous downpour whereby the staple food of the poorer people of the town for the next winter and spring was destroyed. soon after transpired that all over the British Isles a similar disaster had occurred, and the most gloomy forebodings began to be entertained of the near future. These forebodings-it is needless to say-were in most cases amply realised. In the Highlands, however, in consequence of the remedial steps adopted, things at their worst amounted merely to "short commons," but in Ireland-for obvious reasons-whole districts became depopulated, the people crowding into the towns in a state of starvation, while death from that cause was of common occurrence.

"It was further observed that though prices had become abnormally high, by a merciful coincidence, at no previous time in the Highlands was employment more readily obtained, a fact, however, which must be taken with the qualification that wages were barely one-half of what they are now.

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"In the county town, the chief meal-dealers were a family notorious for attending to the main chance, and skilled in making such forecasts as would conduce to its furtherance. They took time by the forelock, bought up a large quantity of corn, and had it converted into meal; but in answer to repeated inquiries replied that they had little by them but what would suffice for their own use, and were, therefore, not in a position to sell but small quantities and to their regular customers. This policy was, to some extent, adopted by the other dealers in the district, so that before the last month of winter was over meal had reached a high price.

"By early summer the cry of the people had become intense, and the burgh fathers felt at their wits' end. They frequently met in Council, chiefly to exchange vacuous looks. Here the meal-dealing family spoken of had a representative, and the price at which they had resolved to sell (£,2 per boll) having been reached, he announced that he had a quantity to sell; and that though the price was certainly a little high, it should be remembered that with meal as with other things, the price was just what it would fetch. His fellow-Councillors were by no means uniformly wealthy, and some there knew what thin and scant porridge was as well as others, and possibly on no accasion were the principles of "The Dismal Science" announced as where they appeared so pitiless and inhuman as then at that table! Happily, the burgh had at that time, and in a position to befriend it, its late Provost, Hugh Innes Cameron, doubtless the ablest son it ever produced. He was at that time in London, acting as legal adviser to the laird of Achany, subsequently Sir James Matheson of the Lewis, who, through his agency, had acquired the latter extensive property. Mr Cameron having been duly advised of the condition of his native town, brought the matter before the notice of his benevolent and wealthy client, pointing out the urgent nature of the case, and the gratitude he would earn from the people of Dingwall and the surrounding district were he to send thither a quantity of bread-stuffs-not as a dole to paupers-but to be sold at such a price as would meet all expenses. The suggestion and its terms met with the full approval of the kind-hearted gentleman, and in a week or two a handsome clipper schooner, sent from America as a speculation, and full to the hatches with an assorted cargo of barley, peas, and Indian corn-meal, duly appeared in the harbour, whence the

breadstuffs were transferred to a store, and thence sold to the people in small quantities and at a very reasonable rate. The crisis, so far as Mid-Ross was concerned, thus came to an end. Peas brose was found to be a tolerable substitute for oatmeal porridge, an article which was barely procurable, while the barley and other meal, when converted into bannocks, did indifferently well instead of potatoes.

"For this and many similar judicious kindnesses to his humbler fellow-countrymen—notice of which having somehow reached the ears of parties in power—Mr Matheson of Achany, blossomed into Sir James Matheson of the Lewis, and it would be hard to point out an instance before or since where a like honour was more richly merited. The people of Dingwall all but worshipped him, as was seen in the following year, when he was returned unopposed as member for the combined counties. Not the ever-popular Queen Victoria herself could have been welcomed with a greater amount of enthusiasm, most of the inhabitants, with bands of music—by the way, I officiated on that auspicious occasion as a clarionist—and banners, going out as far as Conon-Bridge to meet him as he drove from Conan House, where he then resided. Soon after he was elected Provost, the highest honour the community had to bestow; an office which he held for a number of years.

"Two occurrences of that time claim to be noticed here: the fate of the hoarded meal, and the so-called Corn Riots, provoked by the ostentatious export of grain out of a famishing country.

"Poetic justice but rarely overtakes the hunk and the forestaller; to those bairns of his the deil is said to be 'aye gude,' so that when the contrary occurs the record is by most people found to be extremely pleasant reading; the public, therefore, cannot well afford to be ignorant of the fate of the hoarded meal.

"'The girnal' containing it was located not far from the banks of the historic Peffery, but sometime during the spring of 1847 that usually meek stream resolved, with the concurrence of its tributaries on the western face of Ben Wyvis, and with the view possibly of showing what in favourable circumstance it was capable of, to make a supreme effort. In pursuance thereof it became for a few hours a raging torrent, overflowed its banks greatly further than "the oldest inhabitant" had ever witnessed, and finding the meal girnel in its way, levelled its

walls and utterly destroyed the meal! Purely natural causes? Of course! There is no Supreme Magistrate in the universe!

"To a whole community on short commons the export in broad day of farm produce in large quantities could not, in the nature of things, be agreeable; yet because a slightly higher price could be obtained elsewhere during the summer of of 1847 that spectacle had frequently to be witnessed by the people of the Machair of Ross. Common prudence might have suggested to them that because of the resources of civilization on the side of the exporters their only resource was to grin and endure as best they could; but in times of scarcity arguments supplied by the stomach have a far greater potency than those furnished by philosophy. The thing is, of course, regrettable, but the fact is not open to question. Seeing, therefore, in these circumstances, strings of grain-loaded carts proceeding harbourwards day after day, produced first a crop of cursing and ultimately, overt acts, which if not justifiable, could not be said to be without excuse. Robbery was never thought of, but could not, it was asked, this grain be kept in the country after all? Wheat, by itself, is exportable, so is barley; but a combination of wheat and barley is not; what is therefore to hinder our making that combination in the granary up by, and give our exporting friends a new tune to dance to? The immediate occasion which suggested these inquiries was the arrival that day of a vessel in the harbour, in which the grain in store was to be shipped, and to the audience addressed the proposed expedient savoured of a wisdom rare in mortals, but as to the manner in which the scheme was subsequently imparted to the active agents—the Dingwall mob, the female element by far and away the worst—I am not in a position to speak, for luckily an old musical friend had early arrived that evening on a visit, and the prolonged sederunt of indifferent fiddle duet-playing which ensued drove all other matters out of my head. Next morning there was a revelation. The respectabilities, in which term I include the Magistrates—such as they were—when they happened to awaken during that noisy night were well aware that some noisy people were abroad, but as no bloodshedding seemed in progress they adopted another position and resumed their nocturnal trombone performances. But, on rising, they heard with dismay that something closely resembling an 'emeute' had taken place and that much valuable property had been rendered unsaleable.

steed having been stolen they rose to the occasion and had the stable door properly secured; had the most part of the male population sworn in as special constables, and insisted on having the military up from Invergordon, where two companies of the 27th Regiment had arrived in the troopship Birkenhead a few days before, for the purpose of meeting in that place a similar emergency. A few of the more prominent of the rioters were also apprehended, tried, and awarded a few months' imprisonment, the others absconded, remained in concealment for a while, and then returned to the scene of their achievements. Meantime what of grain remained in the country in an unmixed condition was quietly shipped, and matters in due time settled down to their normal condition. It was seen that the 'cry' was indeed great, but the only 'oo' I heard of was the handsome assessment laid upon the shire in order to pay for the mixing of the grain and the expenses incident to calling for military aid."

Having thus referred to events which naturally linked themselves with the protectionist meeting of 1814, we now hark back to that period and resume our narrative of the county's story.

No event of that period known to us calls for special record until we arrive at Waterloo, 18th June, 1815. How all classes in Ross felt with respect to the issues involved in the struggle crowned by that victory may be estimated from the fact, that on the paper containing the news of the battle reaching the manse of Tain on a Sabbath morning, the eminent man of God-Mr Mackintosh-saw it to be his duty to take the paper with him to church, and the better to furnish himself and his people with emotions suited to the occasion, he read out to them with manifest acceptance from its columns that thrilling story of endurance and victory. The act, when the country, the day, and the place is considered, and notwithstanding the indication it gave of the intensity of public feeling at the time, would, doubtless, have been the ruin of any minister but one like the saintly Mackintosh, of whom it was known that to him newspapers formed the current record of how his Heavenly Father governed the world. In the "Te Deum" which followed in Tain Church there were, of course, "no choral or orchestral effects," but notwithstanding the absence of accompaniment, that it winged its way with acceptance to the Throne of The Supreme we no more doubt than that we exist.

Waterloo having been fought and won, universal peace and a wholesale reduction of our military establishment followed, but not until many years had passed did the current of provincial life assume its normal condition. In the labour market—then exceedingly flaccid—the supply owing to the presence of the disbanded soldiery had become greatly in excess of the demand, with the ususal trying consequences, so that at last the conclusion come to by the most thoughtless was, that as things were then managed the country had become incapable of feeding its overgrown family. In these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that many of the population, including whole families, had resolved on seeking employment, bread, and a home, in our North American and Australian Colonies. It is gratifying to know that in most cases the habits and intelligence which the people had acquired in Ross stood them in good stead abroad, and that much comfort, if not excessive wealth, accompanied their efforts.

From the period of the Culrain Clearance, to be presently referred to, and with one notable exception, the history of the Province down to that when the agitation for reform became acute, presents few striking incidents; one exception was, however, the death of the last Earl of Seaforth, and with him the extinction of that historic line. In our History, and with respect to its "dramatis personae," we have dwelt upon their performances rather than their exits, but in the present instance an exception must be made, not only because of its eminently tragic character, but in fulfilment of our recorded promise in the XVII. chapter, when dealing with the death of the so-called Brahan Seer and the doom which he denounced against the House of his murdress.

The terms of that doom were, in all their details, and for generations, as familiar to the thoughtful people of South Ross as their individual names, and its realisation as confidently expected as anything still future could be; yet when Lord Francis entered on possession, and notwithstanding that an extreme deafness—the result of an attack of scarlet fever when he was at school—and a corresponding taciturnity were too conspicuous to pass unnoticed, few anticipated that in the person of one so able and accomplished the historic House would suffer extinction, or that the above infirmity was portion of the shadow which the coming weird cast before it. But as the precise number of sons gathered round his domestic hearth, and as it became gradually known

that the four contemporary lairds referred to by the seer had appeared, and were suffering under the specified infirmities, a corresponding sinking of heart took possession of those immediately concerned which "no poppy nor mandragora" known to the faculty could in the least degree alleviate. Appearances otherwise were extremely favourable. The Earl, a nobleman of unquestionable talent, found, notwithstanding the aforesaid infirmity, honourable employment in not only raising three battalions of Highlanders for the public service, but as the Governor of one or more of our great dependencies. Besides the sons referred to, six daughters were born to him, while not a ripple dimmed the glassy sea of his prosperity. But as the sons were attaining manhood, one by one sickened and died, and the broken-hearted father, after ceasing for years to hold communication with anyone, followed them to the tomb, and the chief feature of the prediction thus found its fulfilment. The pathos of the situation was at one and the same time mystic and overpowering! But the weird involved important secondary calamities as well: the broad territories were to pass into the hands of strangers. It is probable that from the time of Lord Fortrose, to whom the forfeited estates were granted under a considerable but still endurable burden, they were subject to ever-increasing embarrassments; but under Earl Francis they became overwhelming. For this his high play at an early period in the company of the disreputable Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., and his set, was largely accountable. The result was that the green hills of Kintail—the cradle of his race—had to be parted with, and all but a heavily-burdened fraction had to be sold after his death. Nor was this all; the diminished inheritance was to come into the possession of "a white coifed lassie, who was to kill her sister!" This prediction, read in the light of the actual occurrence, and after allowing for the mystic language proper to prophesy, had also a literal fulfilment. The "lassie" in question was the Hon. Mary Mackenzie, Seaforth's eldest daughter, who had as her husband Admiral Hood, long naval commander on the Eastern Station, and where, until he died, his lady shone as the bright particular star of the Anglo-Indian society. (See Life of Mount-Stewart Elphinstone). The "white coif" of the prediction must thus be considered as referring to the head-dress appropriate to her condition of widowhood. Her next husband was James Stewart, of the House of Galloway, who adopted his lady's surname

in addition to his own. The final tragedy occurred as Mrs S. Mackenzie was one day driving out in a pony carriage, accompanied by her sister, Miss Caroline, when the ponies, taking fright, upset the carriage, precipitating its occupants to the roadside. Both ladies were seriously injured, but while Mrs Mackenzie in due time recovered, Miss Caroline shortly after died.

Although the death of Seaforth towers as an event over every other in Ross during the third decade of the 19th century, it must not be supposed that incidents of importance bearing upon its people and their progress did not occur. Of these the dividing of the Maolbuie Common among the adjacent proprietors (1829) held a leading place, but with regard to which, and for reasons satisfactory to ourselves, we shall pass by. But social grievances also existed in quantity, and settlement with the fists, or the broadsword, having become unfashionable, these found their appropriate ventilation in letters to the editors of the Inverness newspapers; but aware that human endurance has a limit, we shall hold them all as considered with one somewhat diverting exception. But first a word of explanation:—

Roadmaking, that most prosaic of employments, continued, as we saw, to engage the attention of our Commissioners during these years, though in the matter of detail these gentlemen exhibited a marked deficiency in practical knowledge: that is, if we are to believe the many statements published in the newspapers by our old friend, Sir George S. Mackenzie of Coul. In his voluminous newspaper correspondence he tells us over and over again—in effect—that the Commissioners' engineer, the late Joseph Mitchell, of Highland Railway fame, was fitter to trundle a navvy's barrow than act as constructor of a system of roads.

In the nature of things this literary and critical industry could not go on without in due time provoking such reprisals as Sir George, of all men in the shire, could least afford to have inflicted. A letter over his initials, "G. S. M.," appeared in one of the Inverness newspapers, which everybody not in the secret—though greatly surprised—at once ascribed to the Coul baronet. The matter of surprise consisted of the adverse criticism which it directed against certain matters of local interest of which that gentleman had hitherto been the leading champion, and the sudden "volt face" was, in consequence, simply unintelligible. Sir

George at once fell into the trap. He wrote an indignant letter to the paper, repudiating in emphatic terms both the authorship and the conclusions of the obnoxious epistle, boldly affirming that the initials were also destitute of any corresponding personality, and simply intended to mislead the public as to his views. The rejoinder it elicited induced convulsions of laughter in every newspaper reader in the northern counties. The "Guard" of the "South Mail" was made to inquire by what right Sir George Mackenzie had assumed that the advocacy of opinions to which he took exception could not be "bona fide," or that when a man saw fit to use the initials of his profession instead of his name he thereby exposed himself to the charge of falsification? The edge of the joke was on all hands seen to be in no degree blunted by these reasonings, though, perhaps, Sir George thought otherwise.

The Inverness newspapers of 9th March, 1820, record one of those outrages of the period which from its magnitude and its attendant circumstances calls for more than a passing notice in these pages.

Under an assumption of power, then unchallenged, of reducing a populous district to the condition of a desert, Mr Munro of Novar, for reasons satisfactory to himself, resolved on a wholesale removal of his Culrain tenantry, numbering between three and four hundred souls. For this outrage there were not even the flimsy excuses on which some of the Sutherland clearances were based; the people were prosperous, and paid their way like bankers.

As soon as the resolve was made public, and after making many fruitless appeals to their laird's humanity, the people, conscious of owing him nothing, and under the belief that he would not proceed to extremities, determined to retain forcible possession of their holdings. They resisted the officers employed to serve the summonses of removal with violence, it is alleged. It was, of course, a case of brazen pot versus clay potsherd. The cry, or rather subterranean growl for Parliamentary Reform was then fast becoming audible, and, with fear of change greatly perplexing statesmen and even the monarch, it induced among the landlords a dread that if this chimera dire of Democracy was not strangled in the birth, their power of disposing of their humble fellow-countrymen as they thought proper would be endangered. The forecast, as we know, turned out ultimately to be correct!

These landowners made (Munro's cause their own. This Culrain

business, in their view, called for the most vigorous measures of repression, no proprietor for a moment questioning the propriety of setting the hardy, industrious peasantry of a whole country-side adrift on the world. The measures adopted will be seen in the following extract from the "Inverness Courier" of March 9th, 1820:—

"In order to enforce the due execution of the writs of removal, the Sheriff of the county, Donald Macleod, Esq., of Geanies, accompanied by one of his substitutes, proceeded on the 2nd inst. to Culrain. some opposition was expected, these gentlemen were accompanied by about twenty-five soldiers," (the permanent staff of the Ross-shire Militia), "nearly forty constables, and a very numerous body of gentlemen from the eastern side of the county. On approaching Culrain the progress of the party was interrupted by the appearance of a crowd of between three and four hundred people, chiefly women and men in women's clothes, the rest of the men being posted behind a stone dyke, who rushed from thence upon the soldiers with a hideous yell, attacked them with sticks, stones, and other missiles, and compelled them to retreat with much precipitation. In this tumult some of the soldiers used their arms in self-defence, by means of which, we are sorry to learn, two or three women were severely wounded. No authority was given to the soldiers by the civil power to fire. The venerable Sheriff-Substitute used his utmost efforts to restore order, and endeavoured to expostulate with the enraged people on the impropriety of their conduct, regardless of the showers of stones with which he was assailed. Finding, however, all his efforts fruitless and his force insufficient to restore order, the whole party at length retired. Some of the soldiers were severely hurt, and many of the gentlemen also received contusions while rescuing the Sheriff from the fury of the mob."

The "Courier" did not share in the conviction that Culrain and Peterloo were both traceable to similar causes and called for similar treatment, for, commenting on the riot, it says:—"There is no feeling of a political nature among the Ross-shire people further than somewhat of that lamentable alienation of the poor from the rich, which more or less pervades every disturbed portion of the Empire—nor do we believe that there was anything like a mutual understanding or concerted action between this people and the inhabitants of other districts, though the contrary is stated. A population in this state is like a maniac, whose

fury requires coercion to prevent dangers to his neighbours and to save himself from injury. It is understood that a strong military force is now on its way to that part of the country; the spirit which has broken forth being such as cannot for a moment be tampered with."

The Carrutherese of the foregoing remarks does not require pointing out; and while the advocacy of stringent measures for the upholding of even iniquitous laws until they are repealed commands our approbation, we, notwithstanding, think it strange that the writer while deploring the alienation of "the poor from the rich," has failed to point out that it was just such tyrannical acts on the part of the rich as he here records which caused, so far as the Highlands were concerned, that very alienation.

Obedient to the advice of their friends, the poor people of Culrain submitted to the inevitable: a voluminous correspondence in the papers between the parish minister of Kincardine and the Sheriff followed, in which the parson had decidedly the best of it; a wilderness was, however, produced and called an "improvement," which, moreover, like similar "improvements" elsewhere, and when too late for recall, were found to be a woeful blunder.

The above narrative of the "Battle of Culrain" calls for a few trifling emendations. We have lived with certain of the combatants. father of the present writer was one of the staff-sergeants present on that occasion-one of the mildest mannered men then living-vet when the slightest reference to this "action" was made in his hearing, the Old Adam within him became—for him—obstreperous. In common with several of the force engaged, he belonged to that very district, of course, knowing as friends and even relations many of the "enemy" they were there to coerce. It is, therefore, unnecessary to say that their sympathies were with the unfortunate people. Under the command of their officers, and necessarily with the approval of the "civil power," they fired several rounds of blank cartridge, but it was soon found that makebelieve warfare of that sort produced more contempt than fear. It was then that one of the party—a disreputable drummer it was believed, and probably in revenge for an injury—used a ball cartridge he had about him, by means of which one woman was fatally, and one or two more severely injured. Notwithstanding this, when, in consequence of a charge by the women, and men in women's clothes, armed with aprons filled with stones, the military were ordered to shelter themselves behind a dyke, some of the male combatants stole unobserved to them and entertained them liberally with bread, cheese, and whisky, no doubt a much-needed refreshment. The identification of the homicide was, of course, impossible, and he, on his part, took good care not to claim a reward.

In 1821, when wages were, as we have said, considerably less than half what they are at present, and work difficult to obtain, the quartern loaf sold at elevenpence. However, on the 24th of that year, the Magistrates of Inverness—those of Dingwall, as usual, following suit—and in the exercise of their power, reduced the price of bread by one penny per quartern loaf, an act of authority which, if exercised at present, would bring the Commissioners of Lunacy together, but which the "Courier" of that date characterised as a "well-timed exercise of power."

The fears of many gentlemen of Ross that the disturbance at Culrain indicated the presence at their doors of one of the heads of the Democratic Hydra were, no doubt, set at rest for the time by the steps taken to suppress it. Far from the madding crowd whom the patriotic labours of Braxfield were serving to infuriate still more, they were jubilant over the possession of privileges which seemed as firmly rooted as Ben Wyvis itself. This may be seen from a paragraph in the "Inverness Courier" of the 23rd March, 1821, the occasion being a Ross-shire election feast held at Tain, when seventy individuals—the electorate of that period—sat down to dinner. The toast of the evening was, "May the County of Ross ever continue to be represented by the fittest freeholder on its Rolls." Let the reader for a moment fancy the effect on these superior people were a lantern exhibition of the nature of forecasts to form part of the amusement of the evening, in which the inextinguishable "Weir," M.P., in the act of questioning the Government, would be thrown on the screen, as an event due before the termination of the century. We greatly doubt whether the retentive powers of the most intrepid present would be equal to the trial!

As no newspapers were published in the county for many years subsequent to this period, that fact must be held accountable for the paucity of information respecting the sayings and doings of the free-holders towards sweeping back the advancing flood of Reform. Not until so late as 24th March, 1831, have we fallen in with anything

resembling authentic political intelligence from Ross; and even then it is meagre enough in all conscience. The meeting in question was held at Tain, and seeing that no chairman is mentioned, we must suppose that it was held for conference mostly; albeit the resolutions said to have been passed were emphatic enough.

It was called to consider the plan of Reform brought into Parliament by His Majesty's Ministers. The several arguments are curiosities.

Mr Davidson of Tulloch, on rising, alluded to what he conceived to be objectionable in the proposed plan of Reform. He objected particularly to the £10 voters, as placing the qualification on too wide a scale, and also the franchise being vested in tenants paying £50 of rent. Besides these, he said, there were several other objections to the Bill, but as he had only been called upon a few minutes previous to propose the first resolution, he would not enter further into the subject. He concluded by moving:—"That in the opinion of this meeting, however much and salutary a safe reform may be necessary and advisable, the measure now introduced into Parliament is too sweeping in its nature and partial in its operation; and in place of being a renovation, would be a reconstruction of the Constitution."

Major Robertson of Kindeace, instead of moving the next resolution, which had been put into his hands, proposed that an address in terms of the foregoing would be sent to the king without delay; an alteration in the programme which was approved of. He stated that he was no enemy to moderate reform, but he certainly conceived that the present Bill went a great deal too far; and such being his conviction, he would consider it improper for him, or any one of his sentiments, to remain silent when the interests of the kingdom were at stake. The burgh system, no doubt, called loudly for reform, and in some particulars it was necessary in the counties. He had no objection whatever to the farmers having votes, because that would tend to unite them and the landlord in one bond of friendship-(applause)-but he was of opinion that the rent, as fixed by the Bill, was too low. He was distinctly against throwing a vote into the hands of the £10 voter, for that was vesting a power in an individual which, in his opinion, he ought not to have. He then proceeded to notice several other parts of the Bill, and, in conclusion, moved the proposed address.

One voice only was raised at this meeting in disapproval of these

sentiments—that of Provost Cameron, of Dingwall, a man, it is safe to say, who possessed more brain power, and as is now evident, more political insight, than all present put together. His arguments that the paying of big rents and the possession of political faculty did not necessarily follow as cause and effect; and, that the British Constitution—which these gentlemen present professed themselves averse to have reconstructed—had already provided that taxation and representation should go together, were, of course, laughed at, but soon after the Provost had all the laughing to himself.

From the same source of information we learn that a similar meeting was held shortly after in Dingwall, and is reported as follows:—

"On Tuesday, the 5th inst. (April, 1831), a public meeting of the freeholders, etc., of the county of Ross was held at Dingwall, for the consideration of the Ministerial Plan of Reform. It first met in the large room of Kenneth Mackenzie, senior's, Inn" (directly opposite the Municipal Buildings), "but this being found inconveniently hot and crowded, the gentlemen present proposed an adjournment to the church. Here an immense number of persons assembled, and the utmost anxiety and interest was manifested in the proceedings.

"Mr Fraser of Inchcoulter (Balconie Castle), was called to the chair. Mr Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth moved a series of resolutions approving of the Ministerial Plan of Reform, yet proposed that a committee be appointed to draw up such alterations as might be deemed wise and salutary, without materially infringing the principles of the Bill."

(The Dingwall Radicals being present in great force, the reading of the resolutions was accompanied with much cheering).

"These resolutions were seconded by Mr Mackenzie, banker, Inverness, better known in Ross as 'Teanassie.'

"Sir George Mackenzie of Coul addressed the meeting at great length in support of the resolutions. He felt surprised that the Bill provided for the retention of Faggot votes, and he urged upon the meeting the adoption of the resolution, whereby in this, as well as in other matters, the proposed legislation might be improved. He could not agree with those who expressed alarm in regard to the measure they were met to consider, nor with accusations that have been launched against it as having in view the overthrow of the Constitution; on the existence and usefulness of which their own order depended. Recurring

to the Faggot votes, he denied that they ought to be regarded as property; but he disapproved of the qualification of a representative as low as £500 a year. Sir George concluded by moving a resolution to the above effect which, not finding a seconder, fell to the ground.

"Mr Mackenzie of Ord moved an amendment in terms of the resolutions passed at the Tain meeting of the 24th ult., which though approving of the general question of reform, yet characterised the Ministerial plan as too sweeping in its nature and partial in its operations; and, in effect, a reconstruction of the Constitution. The amendment was seconded by Mr Mackenzie of Allangrange, and supported by speeches from Mr Ross of Cromarty, Mr Davidson of Tulloch, and others. On a division 14 gentlemen only voted for the resolutions, while 18 voted for the amendment."

The new Reform Act was instrumental in leading to a few changes, if they could not be called improvements, in the occupancy of land. The franchise being fixed at £50 rental made it desirable on the part of proprietors to have as many farms as possible of that value on their estates; for it could not be supposed that a tenant would be so left to himself as to fall out of-for a mere matter of opinion-that imaginary procession of dependents the landlord saw it to be for his credit or glory to lead to the poll. It must be owned-such is the perversity of human nature—that the imagined procession rarely, if ever, took place in Ross, nay, instead of that union of the bonds of friendship which we heard the laird of Kindeace humanely anticipating, heart-burnings and suspicions between the parties, in an aggravated form, seemed to date themselves from that period. We cannot be far wrong when we say, that for the subsequent decade, the adjusting of political and social relations between proprietors and tenants gave its character to the rural history of Ross.*

^{*}The present writer, then of the ripe age of four, has a distinct remembrance of the rejoicings which in Dingwall followed the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. By common consent the town was illuminated, candles or portions of candles were displayed in every window, while in those of the Provost the sashes were removed, transparencies, representing the more noted Reform leaders, taking their place. Though observing the proceedings from that safe coign of vantage—the strong arms of his father—his terror induced by seeing the effigies of the more noted local opponents of the measure borne aloft by the mob, previous to being burnt—Ross, Calrossie, the most conspicuous—is as distinctly remembered as though it were an affair of yesterday. It is remarkable that though not one in ten of that crowd had any power conferred upon him by the Reform Bill, the enthusiasm displayed amounted to frenzy; yet, a subsequent measure all but conferring universal suffrage he has lived to see accepted as coolly as though it were a mere Harbour Act!

But within a few years a crisis had arrived, which differing in nature from the last referred to does not in the matter of importance admit of being compared with it, while in the department of results it has been immeasurably further reaching. We, of course, refer to the Disruption of 1843, and shall, in what remains of this chapter, attempt to narrate from the point of view of an eye-witness, unconscious of partizanship, such facts—so far as Ross is concerned—as have come under his observation.

It has already been remarked that in no other district in the North was the first Reformation from Popery so complete as in Ross; while with equal truth it may be affirmed that with respect to the second, that from Court Religion, or Episcopacy, it was but little less so. True, the gentry as a class continued in their profession of the latter, which had undergone certain surface improvements; but the fact merely constituted another wedge further widening the then existing cleavage between gentry and people, long before inaugurated by the decay of the Clan system. The lairds not foreseeing what was coming, to their own, and still more to their country's loss, having despised that birthright of theirs, that cleavage created a demand for other leaders, and the crofter agitation being yet undreamt of, it devolved with some happy and some equivocal results on the parsons. But here there were leaders and leaders. Through the lives and labours of such men as Hogg, Kiltearn; Mackilligen, Fodderty; Porteous, Kilmuir; Macphail, Resolis, and laymen of the Donald Roy, of Nigg, pattern, scattered over the Province, so correct a standard of aggressive Christianity as distinguished from professional decency had been set up in the public mind, though by no means uniformly followed in practice, that shortcomings on the part of ministers were at once detected, with the inevitable result that the inept pulpiteer and his ministry became relegated to neglect and even contempt.

Yet another circumstance contributed largely to the same result; the unscrupulous abuse of the Patronage Act on the part of Episcopal lairds with Erastian leanings. Thus the succession of hirelings, just referred to, were foisted upon the Presbyterian Church—men who could not teach, and would not learn, but whose success in fomenting hatred against that law was barely equalled by the scorn they induced by their pulpit performances. These feelings, in many cases, had another and

still more creditable origin. The burning words of Knox, in this as well as in other departments, had made an indelible impression upon religious Scotland. Addressing the General Assembly of 1571, by letter, he says:—"To discourse of the behaviour of yourselves I may not, but to commend you to be faithful to the flock I may not cease. Unfaithful and traitors to the flock you shall be before the Lord Jesus, if that, with your consent, ye suffer unworthy men to be thrust into the ministry of the kirk, under what pretence whatever it be. Remember the Judge before whom ye must make an account, and resist that tyranny as ye would hell fire!" Happily, the Scottish Church was never destitute of a goodly remnant whose heart of hearts respond to this appeal as the needle does to the magnetic pole; and the Disruption may, with all fitness, be traced to her resolve to implement it regardless of cost.

Nor were there awanting in Ross, as that sifting time drew nigh, a galaxy of divines similar to those previously enumerated, who served to resuscitate in the popular mind the high spiritual ideal of the Reforming and Revolutionary times. Of these were Charles Mackintosh, Tain; Macrae, Knockbain; Sage, Resolis; Stewart, Cromarty; Carment, Rosskeen; Allan, Kincardine; Noble, Fodderty; and last, and in several important respects the greatest and most influential of all, John Macdonald, of Ferintosh.

Dr Cunningham, in his otherwise singularly fair account of the Disruption, when writing of this last mentioned divine, has allowed himself to be egregiously sold by certain of the residuum, then the representatives of his Church in Ross. We thus write from a contemporaneous knowledge of the facts.

In this connection it will be proper to refer, however briefly, to the wave of serious thought which during several years preceding the Disruption passed over the greater part of Ross and the Inner Hebrides, then, and since, frequently spoken of as a genuine Revival of Religion. As an eye-witness, though ignorant of their cause, we are in a position to testify to the manifestations, having seen acquaintances of the most frivolous character behaving, when under the preaching of the Gospel, very much on the lines of a certain Philippian convert; and, though during the subsequent reaction, the inevitable Ananiases and Sapphiras made their appearance, not a few of those affected made it clear by their

conduct that in their case the emotional wave had ushered in a radical change of disposition.

One result of the above phenomenon was a deepening of the line of demarkation between the Church and the world; another was a sharpening of the contrast between the efficiency of the ministers specified and the soporific Moderate clergy by whom they were environed. It was observed that, under these last, men and women slept as soundly as ever, while the former seldom or ever preached without one or more of the audience crying out: - "Men and brethren, what must we do to be saved." As one of the precise purposes for which the Church exists was to induce manifestations of this nature, it was not to be wondered at that a serious-minded people saw in these proof that the one class held credentials from the Supreme Shepherd, while the other did not; so that in ecclesiastical, as well as in spiritual matters, they felt a sense of safety in following the one and ignoring the other. These, we take it upon us to say, were the sole causes, so far as it appeared unto men, for the wholesale exodus of the people of Ross from the Established Church: nor do we think it in the least discreditable that here they followed their religious instincts rather than such things as then passed for arguments. What these were we shall endeavour to consider further on. As what occurred in Ferintosh was in most points typical of what took place elsewhere, we give it as it was reported to us by an intelligent eye-witness. On the Sunday after the Deed of Demission had been signed the congregation assembled in the spacious church as usual. After a brief pause, William Tolmie, the beadle, one of the noted "men" of the parish, ascended a few steps of the pulpit stairs, and addressing the people—in Gaelic, of course—said:—"Whosoever among you has resolved to hold with Dr Macdonald, let him follow us." Here he, with the rest of the elders, moved to the door, and from thence to the "Burn," some four hundred yards away. individual present followed, and in that celebrated temple, made without hands, the Free Church of Ferintosh was constituted by lay hands with prayer, praise, and the reading of the Word.

All over the county a general preaching vacant of churches whose ministers had joined the Free Church—with one exception, that of Maryburgh—followed; the authentic facts regarding which are as follows:—While Dr Chalmers, with his characteristic vigour, was

advocating his Church Extension Scheme as a means of meeting the clamant spiritual destitution, a few choice spirits in the Highlands and in their several localities had already in a quiet but effectual way taken up and settled the matter for themselves. Thus in the village of Maryburgh the ladies of the Seaforth Family, the Hon. Mrs Stewart Mackenzie, the last, and without doubt the best of her Line, and her two sisters, had resolved, with the view of meeting the spiritual necessities of the people of the district, whom in an especial manner they considered their own, on erecting for them a comfortable place of worship. The proprietrix, besides granting the site and subscribing towards its erection, agreed to contribute £80 annually towards the stipend of the minister. In due time negotiations were opened with the Presbytery of Dingwall towards having the district of which Maryburgh is the centre, erected into a "Quoad Sacra" parish, but happily—as the matter turned out that body merely allowed the proposals to lie on their table. Meantime its pulpit was filled by the able and eloquent George Macleod, latterly minister of Ullapool, and to the mortification of the neighbouring parsons the church became filled by starving sheep from their respective flocks, while the general ecclesiastical outlook was also fast becoming ominous. Stimulated into activity by both facts, the Presbytery got a deed prepared, and the proprietrix was waited upon to have it completed by her sign manual. The deputies found that they had arrived after the fair. They were civilly told that they had needlessly delayed the matter, and now that it behoved her, in view of impending changes, to make sure that the people for whom it was erected would remain in possession. With this reply the reverend gentlemen had to remain content, and the uncompleted deed still remains one of the curios of the Presbytery.

The Disruption came; Mr Macleod and his people joined the Free Church en masse, and he and his elders in their turn waited upon the Hon. Mrs S. Mackenzie. They were well received; she recalled to their memories the fact that the church was erected on a certain footing, for the use of her own people, whom she was now aware had left the Establishment; they might, however, notwithstanding, continue to worship there as before. Recent experiences, she said, prevented her saying more just then. Having, however, found that the Free Church had come to stay, she, in 1849, had the requisite deed executed, by

which on the nominal payment of is. per annum feu duty for itself and the acre of land on which it stands, it became the property of that Church. It is known that certain of the Establishment Presbytery had serious intentions of demanding the church fabric on the ground of the negotiations referred to, but the wiser portion, foreseeing the futility, in view of the uncompleted title, and the scandal otherwise sure to accrue, advised otherwise, and the people of Maryburgh were left in peace.

This was by no means the only benefit this eminent lady extended to her own and the neighbouring people of that period. Nine out of every ten having resolved no longer to worship in the Parish Churches under Government patronage, meeting-places of their own became indispensable. But the lairds of Coul and Castle Leod having, like many of their class in the Highlands, inherited from their ancestors the Stewart religion and policy along with their estates, curtly refused the indispensable sites. The case was simply that of rejunevated Puritanism versus Cavalierism in its senile dotage, and a wide district in her neighbourhood might have been put to much inconvenience were it not that the lady referred to was in a position to afford efficient help. It was found that a corner of her property entered well into that of Coul, close to the scene of the famous battlefield of the "Pairc" already referred to, on which, for a nominal sum, she granted a site for both church and manse. There the people of the combined parishes of Contin and Fodderty, at no appreciable inconvenience, continued to assemble for public worship, until about ten years ago, when a disjunction took place. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the name of "Mari mhor Bhrahin," as she was affectionately termed by the Celtic people, should be, as it will long remain, fragrant to the serious minded in South Ross.

The Disruption teaches important lessons to the diligent student of history, who has withal an eye for the heart of things rather than passing modes. It teaches that the Church is the blunderer she ever was; frequently has private ends of her own to serve which invariably, sooner or later, result in vexation and disappointment; but while pursuing them is unwittingly guided to the adoption of the measures which were the furthest possible from her original intention. She began that struggle fiercely gesticulating against Voluntaryism, and concluded by showing the world an example of practical Voluntaryism, which ever



THE "PAIRC" IN 115 PRESENT STATE.



since has furnished it with matter for speechless astonishment, and ultimately convinced herself—sore against her will—that the liberality of her children is really the Divine method for her support and the extension of Christ's Kingdom in the world.

But no less effectual was the Disruption in demonstrating that the world, here a generic term for the political and legal functionary, underneath the decorous disguises and amenities of modern times, had undergone no change whatever, either in spirit or purpose. Purblind, it failed to distinguish between the endeavours of the Church to carry out the "marching orders" of its Commander-in-Chief and that priestcraft which seeks to put its foot on the neck of all civil authority whatsoever; fanatical, its blood being up, it pronounced decrees from its judicial benches and in Parliament, which served to show what a thin partition separated the thinking and feeling of modern statesmen and judges from those of the Star Chamber and the Scottish Privy Council; hide-bound, it held to the supremacy of the State, and that too in naked divorce from expediency and even right, and found itself-which it could ill affordsubjected to an ignominious moral defeat. It is gratifying to know that after the event, of course, the steps taken to coerce the Church into submission to the lawyers were seen by even these to be among the most shameful blunders of modern times.

The position taken up by the Courts and the Government at this crisis is perfectly intelligible; it was merely "Polycarp to the lions," in 19th century phrase; but who can say the same for that of the Church, after considering the principles which as a State institution she had professed to adopt? The Patronage Act was a portion of the law of the land, which she as a State institution became bound to uphold; an expression of that will of the Magistrate in his Church relations which her standards declare has the Divine sanction; yet she passed a Veto Act without his concurrence, that is, of Parliament, and exposed herself to the mortification of having it treated as mere waste paper. When shown her error she did not, as would become the pensioner of the State, beg pardon for her ceremonial crime against a scandalous law, and stoutly agitate for its abrogation, but stood upon her dignity as a spouse of Christ (case of bigamy!) and openly defied the Courts.

Then, the fog enveloping the position of the Church at this period, had yet another sooty element, which a few old women in breeches still

profess to consider Divine—to wit, the Establishment Principle. In the Confession, the Civil Magistrate has a chapter all to himself (we regret that we have never been able to get this gentleman's British address!). There it is set forth, under tremendous penalties, that he is bound not only to defend the Church, which always means providing a comfortable maintenance for her ministers, but also to take order "that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, and that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, etc." The latter is certainly a large order, but without referring at length to the attempts made by such Civil Magistrates as Charles V., Philip II., Charles I. and II. to implement it according to their lights, and with consequences which will keep mankind shuddering until the crack of doom, is it not singular that when that gentleman, or, let us say, his trustees, sought in this particular case, and according to their lights, to give it effect, those parsons who had not only subscribed it but had it even incorporated in the formula of the Emancipated Church, proclaimed the means taken to enforce it to be as persecuting as the edicts of Diocletian? How fearfully and wonderfully constituted the clerical understanding sometimes is!

It is still confidently affirmed that the Disruption was after all but a martyrdom by mistake, and that a little of the Divine virtue of patience would have averted the catastrophe. The evidence for this we find it impossible to accept, notwithstanding that a few years later, and for a not very creditable reason, the objectionable Patronage Act was abolished. It is held by others that the Establishment Principle fetish, to which we saw the Church had committed herself, ought in the fullness of time to be reduced to its elemental rags and dust, and no other way being possible it was resolved by Her Head to show in this manner what the State, having as a matter of course the interpretation of its own laws in its own hands, was in the most favourable circumstances capable of; and further, to demonstrate that the much-decried Voluntary Principle, when practically adopted, was not only equal, as at the first, to the maintenance of a settled ministry, but for carrying the Gospel to the ends of the earth as well.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

During the progress of our narrative we have had occasion to refer to the four burghs in the Province, and when writing of the Lewis touched upon the founding of the Royal Town of Stornoway. And now, when bringing our labours to a close, it seems expedient to sketch, however briefly, an outline of their several early histories, not with the intent of instructing their respective burghers in such details as they should, and, doubtless, in many cases actually do, know better than ourselves—but rather with the object of making these burghs and towns better acquainted with each other and the Province at large than they are at present.

The county town of Dingwall, as previously stated, is to have at the hands of the most competent person known to us, a history of its own, and Stornoway is to have the same from the future historian of the Lewis; there, accordingly, remains but three out of the five which call for notice here.

The question of precedence, wherever it emerges, is confessedly difficult to settle, though the fact is frequently forgotten by those who find themselves, or the places where they dwell, put in a further back seat than they anticipated. In view of this, and desirous of maintaining friendly relations all round, so far as the truth will allow, we shall here adopt that order of precedence which the dates of their respective charters of incorporation confers, which, accordingly, will be as follows:—Rosemarkie and Fortrose, 1445; Tain, 1587; Cromarty, 1662.

The twin burgh of Rosemarkie and Fortrose makes its first appearance in history in connection with the Bishopric of Ross, the functionary in question being, however, for reasons unknown, designated not of Ross, but of Rosemarkie, "Rosemarkensis Episcopis."

We have already, when writing of the Reformation, referred to its last Popish bishop and, when treating of the submergence of the ancient British Church, of its first, and it may be of interest to some of our readers if we give the entire list, with the dates, so far as is known, of their consecration or translation. As already mentioned, Macbeth stands first, but the date either of his consecration or that of Simeon, his successor, cannot be given, but from the fact that he left several sons who occupied high places in the land, it is our firm belief, as already indicated, that the former was a grandson of Macbeth the Great; the next was Gregory, 1161; Reinaldus, 1195, may have been a Celt and his name the Latinised form of Ranald; so, indeed, may have been Robert I.; between him and Robert II. (1260) there occurs a dateless hiatus, in which the antiquary concerned inserted the name of Duthoc; but surely this could not be our Tain friend, for whom a friendship with Malcolm Canmore is claimed. Then follows a Robert III., 1271; Matthaeus, 1272; Thomes de Fyvie, 1274; Robert IV., 1284; Thomas de Dundumore, 1309; Roger I., 1328; John I., 1340; Alexander, 1357; then occurs a wide gap of sixty-three years, into which the churchman antiquary inserts another Alexander, with (?) annexed; John II., 1420; Thomas Urquhart, 1441; Henry, 1463; Thomas, 1481; William Elphinstone, 1482; John Fraser, 1485; Robert Cockburn, 1508; James Hay, 1525; Robert Caircross, 1539; David or Daniel Panter, 1553; Henry Sinclair, 1560; John Lesley, 1565.

There is a document extant which shows that in 1189, during the episcopate of Simeon, the clergy of Ross contributed towards relieving William the Lion from the pecuniary liabilities he had incurred by his unfortunate expedition to England fifteen years before the handsome sum for that period of one hundred merks; an incident which, together with a disposition of the teind sheaves by Pope Alexander IV., during the apocryphal episcopate of Duthoc, and preserved in the charter chest of Tarbat House, constitutes about the only marks made by the bishopric in history during the most of its existence.

It may at the same time be greatly doubted whether as an educational centre the Channonry of Ross showed any marked improvement on the less pretentious Culdee Abbacies; and judging by results, especially the barbarous condition to which at the period of the Reformation the Province was reduced, the functions of its clergy—secular and regular—

would seem to have been not so much the propagation of the doctrines and principles of the Gospel as the elimination of whatever of that nature their predecessors had been most careful to inculcate.

The steady, abundant revenues in cash and kind which flowed into the twin burgh (the union took place in 1455) during the Popish period, must have raised them to a high degree of worldly prosperity, so that in all probability they were not only the most cultured, but the most populous towns north of the similarly endowed burgh of Elgin.

The Reformation, however, arrived; the staple industry—such as it was—of the place became discredited, and, in consequence, the chief revenue became dried up at its source. Such of the dwellers in the numerous parsonages which surrounded the Cathedral, in whose hearts the new order of things had been welcomed, and who were in possession of the requisite preaching faculty, became resident in their respective cures, resolved to live by proclaiming the rediscovered Gospel, while the others, whose characters could bear investigation, though lacking in that secular knowledge which the Reformation Church insisted on its ministers possessing, found employment as "readers" and "exhorters." In consequence of this change the Channonry of Ross sank at one step from the position of a Cathedral town to that of an inconsiderable village; nor did the subsequent convulsive efforts of the Stewarts to establish Diocesan Episcopacy of a Protestant pattern do much towards the resuscitation of the twin burghs.

In pursuance of that policy, as has already been noticed, James VI. assigned what remained of the revenues in 1598, with the Bishopric of Ross in partibus, to David Lindsay, until then Presbyterian minister of Leith.

The Church leaders protested, and suffered accordingly. Some were imprisoned, others banished, and many more silenced, but, nevertheless, a sufficient number remained, awaiting hopefully the turn of the tide, possessing their soul in patience, and not always in silence. Their flocks, it must be allowed, were not always so well behaved, and when forced to yield to the inevitable did so with manifest sullenness.

That sullen reserve at last found vent. A spark sufficed to spring the mine which for years was in course of loading with all that is explosive in the Scottish religious character; and engineers and mine crackled up together. Spalding, in his gossipy history of the Troubles, has a story to the effect that Bishop Maxwell in person attempted to read the objectionable Service Book in his own Cathedral of the Channonry, but was prevented by the urchins of the place; but we prefer to hold with Scott in his "Fasti," that so far as Ross was concerned, Dingwall alone enjoyed the doubtful honour.

Maxwell's fortunes were, as a whole, disastrous. The pension of 1322 merks, as well as the revenues of the Priory of Beauly, which he had from the king, together with his Privy Councillorship, ceased on his deposition. He then fled for protection to that unfortunate monarch, then himself in urgent need of protection. At the request of Charles, Maxwell had, however, conferred upon him the degree of D.D. from the University of Dublin, in 1640, was installed in the See of Killala and Anchory, but during the rebellion next year was subjected to much ill-usage. He rejoined the king at Oxford, was promoted to the Archbishropic of Tuam in 1643, and died next year, in Dublin, in about his fifty-third year.

The Bishops of Ross, from the Restoration to the Revolution, and the dates of their consecration, are as follows:—John Paterson, 1663, Alexander Young, 1679; Andrew Wood, 1680; James Ramsay, 1684.

The one "lion" Fortrose has to exhibit is the ruin of its Cathedral, which, though of less extent than many similar edifices of the period, yielded to none in architectural beauty. There is no authentic record extant as to when or by whom it was erected. During the Regency of the Earl of Mar (1572) it is recorded that Lord Ruthven, then Lord Treasurer, received as a gift what remained of "the hail leid quhairwith the Cathedral Kirk of Ross was theckit, alsweil prinicpal kirk as queir and illis thairof." The excuse given for this act of sacrilege was that it "wes nae paroch kirk, but ane monastrie to sustene ydill bellies." The roof remained in this exposed state until 1662 when, as we learn from the authentic "Origines Parochiales," it was accidentally set on fire by Kenneth, Lord Seaforth; the wadding of the gun wherewith he had been amusing himself shooting pigeons serving to set the exposed wood-work on fire. Roofless and neglected it speedily fell into utter decay, so that little now remains to testify to its former glories.

It thus appears that the Great Protector cannot be charged with its demolition with the view of furnishing materials for his Citadel at Inverness, though the flunky mind delights to this hour in repeating the calumny. Everybody should know that that Great Prince finally and honourably laid down his arms in 1658, while, as we saw, the Cathedral roof was so intact in 1662 as to furnish materials for conflagration. Slanders of that sort are, however, consecrated, and consequently have a species of immortality.

To write of Fortrose, without referring to its historic Academy, would be simply unpardonable. For generations, and because of the superlative education imparted within its walls, it has occupied a unique position not only in Ross, but north of the Spey, nor has its reputation suffered any sensible diminution under the existing School Board regime. Its alumni have in many cases risen to distinction in various walks, and all over the Empire, though it is proper to say that few, if any, have reached an eminence equal to its most distinguished scholar, Sir James Mackintosh. Long may its reputation continue.

It is extremely gratifying to see the material progress made by Fortrose during the past thirty years, and more especially since it became connected with the Highland Railway. Previous to that time it has been jocularly said of it that it looked like a place which had been subjected to sack and pillage, but jibes of that kind must now be considered long out of date. As a typical health resort it became known six hundred years ago to those excellent judges, the clergy, and it would seem as if a re-discovery of the same fact had been made during the latter third of the 19th century, and to the manifest advantage of the place; as witness the many handsome villas and summer quarters which have been built and are in progress. Clearly Fortrose—we wish we could say the same of Rosemarkie—is regaining a measure of its ancient importance, and bids fair to be one of the most popular bathing and summer residences in the North.

Tain, as a burgh, ranks second in point of seniority, and has had a competent historian—so far as he has gone—in the Rev. William Taylor, one of its most talented sons, to whose easily accessible work we beg to refer those readers who may be curious regarding such details as do not lie within the scope of the present work, especially those connected with the Shrine of St. Duthoch, a place of pilgrimage of the ultimate rank; that of St. Ninians, in Whithorn, being considered as of secondary importance.

But previous to the birth of St. Duthoch, or any charter of corporation

whatsoever—actual or hypothetical—Tain must have been a rudimentary town. Situated in a distinctly defined Province, three-fourths of whose surface was occupied with barren mountains and dense forests, the good agricultural lands by which it was environed, east, west, and south, constituted from the earliest period the most coveted of all possessions. In the very nature of things, therefore, the fit centre of a district of this character where markets could be held, products exchanged, and such justice as was going administered, would naturally attract to itself that section of the population to whom urban pursuits would be more congenial than rural. Such we take it was the sole reason why a few Celts in the remote past fixed upon the terrace along which its High Street runs for the few huts which constituted the embryo community in due time to be known as Tayne, for as a fencible position—a matter of the first consequence in unsettled times—it is confessedly nowhere. Apart from the question of charters—really a trivial matter—and let those who will assign it a place among comparatively modern towns, we are unable to assign it an origin later than the birth-time in the district of agriculture itself, a period to which it would be hazardous to fix a precise date. The name has been the occasion of considerable but fruitless enquiry. To us, from its similarity to the Saxon title, Thane, it has always appeared as if at some forgotten period a functionary of that rank resided there, and held the district around as his Thanage.

Tain makes its first appearance in history as the burial place of the great Culdee evangelist, St. Duthoch, a fact which assures us that it was his birth-place also. From an historical point of view both facts are of the highest importance, not of course from the superstitious reverence paid to his bones, but as indicating that immediately previous to the supersession by Papal functionaries of the Culdee ministry, which it is the present historical fashion to consider as having been in a state of decay, a type of piety was exhibited by one of this order which overawed not only his native country but the greater part of Ireland, then the most enlightened country in Europe. We further remark that it is contrary to the established order of things to suppose that the population out of which such striking excellence had sprung had in any degree lost its Culdee sap, and since it is admitted that Duthoch's early days were spent, and his Christian training acquired, in Ross it is reasonable to suppose that the specific doctrines and practices instituted

by Columba still existed there as a beneficent force. It astonishes us that this view of the matter at issue has been overlooked by historians.

To those familiar with the methods of the Romish Church when coming into contact with a previous superstition, that of the adoption by its functionaries of the rites paid to the ashes of the great Culdee is nothing but what might be expected. Saint worship was with them an established institution, so that it suited them extremely well to take his shrine under their patronage, and even procure for it additional honours.

To this was owing that by special grace of the Holy See the district around was furnished with the orthodox four Girth crosses, and thereby elevated to Sanctuary rank, so that all those in danger of their lives from any cause might flee thither and be safe—a base caricature of one of the most striking Mosaic institutions. There can be no doubt but that the people of Tain deemed the immunity an invaluable distinction, yet to us living in those prosaic days when Sheriffs, Procurator-Fiscals, and Chief-Constables rule the situation with such happy results the privilege of affording sanctuary to all the "black sheep" north of the Mounth would be voted the most intolerable of nuisances.

The shrine and birthplace of St. Duthoch had not, it would appear, the best of neighbours. We have seen that one of the truculent Earls of Ross violated its right of sanctuary in the most shameful manner, while the redoubtable Paul Mactyre was a constant menace on its western border. Mr Taylor makes two mistakes regaring this individual. He classes him with the cattle-lifters of Glencoe and Lochaber, but honest Paul had a stomach above petty larcenies of that kind. became a son of Olaus, King of Man, and nephew of the Earl of Ross, he flew at higher game. He got wind of the fact that the lands of Strathcarron, Strath Oykel, and Westray had in some way fallen loose, and sailing up the firth as far as his galleys would carry him, he appropriated to his own use these handsome properties. Paul remained in possession for some time, but in 1366 he was civilly told by his allpowerful uncle that he would have to disgorge, yet, in consideration of his being of Royal descent, the operation would be performed as discreetly as possible. Having a daughter of marriagable age and in possession of considerable personal and material charms, the young laird of Balnagown-another nephew of the Earl-having cast wistful glances in her direction, and met by similar advances from the young lady, an understanding was arrived at. Paul was requested to sanction this desirable union, and by way of dowry convey to young Balnagown the before mentioned subjects, while he himself would receive as an equivalent the broad lands of Gairloch, of which the Earl was superior in right of his grandfather, our old friend, Farquhar. The arrangement was carried out to the letter; Paul ceased to be a menace to the worthy burghers of the district town (Balladhuich) while the lands thus acquired still remain integral portions of the Balnagown properties. It will be noticed that the other was Mr Taylor's mistake of making Paul son-in-law instead of father-in-law to the laird of Balnagown.

There is no record of any inroad made by Paul Mactyre on the Immunity; the enemy whose incursion it had most to deplore was a heathen gentleman of the road, named Macneil, who had become so lapsed as to be unamenable even to the terrors of superstition, and whose chief habitat was in Sutherland. In pursuit of his calling, and in all probability about the beginning of the fifteenth century, he raided the place, set the edifice containing the shrine of the Great Culdee—and, it is said, the charter of incorporation granted by Malcolm Canmore to the burgh—on fire, by means of which those invaluable properties were reduced to soot and ashes. The burgh historian deplores this calamity in the most feeling terms, chiefly because it was "speedily followed by an attempted invasion of her rights; and it has led at different times to an interested questioning of the high antiquity of her municipal claims; indeed, she has suffered very recently, and still suffers, from the same It was found necessary very soon to attempt to remedy the loss. Twelve years after its occurrence, namely, in 1439, there was summoned to meet at Tain under the seal of Alexander, Earl of Ross, a jury of the highest names in Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland, to hold an inquisition into the rights and privileges of the town. The jury, in a document of which an ancient notarial copy is still extant, declared it to be their finding, that after careful consideration, the town of Tayne was under the protection of the Holy See, that it had been founded by Malcolm Canmore, and confirmed by King David Bruce and Robert II., in all the right of a free trading town," which rights the document enumerates. Does it not strike the reader as something surprising that instead of placing dependence on the finding of a jury who, of course, had nothing to go upon but the testimony of interested witnesses, and,

therefore, valueless, the Town Fathers did not send direct to the Record Office, as the Fathers of the county town had to do in a similar emergency, and obtain from thence—not, of course, the Charter of Malcolm Canmore, which never had any existence, as every student of the period knows full well, but the alleged confirmation by the succeedings kings?*

Having ourselves come of a fairly honest Tain stock, and not without some excusable pride arising from the fact, we cannot be charged with a wish to diminish in any degree the "amor patriæ" which distinguishes its people; but really this continuous harping on the untimable string of burghal precedence, having its occasion in what is no better than hypothetical sheep-skins, and the paltry jealousy still entertained towards the county town because of the place assigned to it by Act of Parliament, seems to the last degree childish. As a town, the antiquity of Dingwall, as we have seen, is not numbered among open questions; nor, that as a corporate community or burgh, it has existed six hundred years, as the National Records, together with its own charters, show, while it was distinctly stated, during the discussion which accompanied the settlement of the dispute, that precedence was not granted to it over the rival burgh on these accounts, but simply because of its central and strategic position, to which indeed, before any Scottish history was reduced to writing, it owed its previous existence as a settled community, and therefore a ground of precedence

^{*} Our curt dismissal, as above, of Malcolm Canmore and the documents said to be derived from him on which the burghal rights of Tain have been founded, may be resented by those not conversant with the facts, a resentment which we would fain avoid. They are these :- First, Malcolm was a Celt, a member of a race that had a horror of written charters of all kind. (See Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. I., p. 752.) Second, The earliest charters extant are those of Edgar, Alexander I., and David I., that is late in the Scoto-Saxon period. Most of their charters are undated. Third, From 1034 to 1072 the potent Jarl Thorfinn ruled from the line of the Farrar to the utmost north, while the whole of the Hebudes was also under his vigorous sway. The defunct charter is said to be granted in 1057, that is the first year of King Malcolm's reign, and that he at that period commenced to rule over what was then recognised as the kingdom of Scotland we do not doubt, but that he took aught to do with the districts of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, cannot for a moment be entertained. The political confusion which necessarily followed Thorsinn's death, in 1072, forbids the supposition that even then Malcolm obtained the reversion of Thorfinn's dominions. It is, however, said, with some probability, that shortly after that event he married Ingiobiorg, Thorfinn's young widow, presumably with the view of conciliating the Norse populations, but his hold of Ross must have been loose, not to speak of conferring burghal honours fifteen years before on any of its villages. The character of the "man in possession" stringently forbids any such assumption.

which Charters or Acts of Parliament can neither give nor take away.

But Tain must be accorded a precedence of its own as much in advance of what a mere Act of Parliament can confer as moral eminence transcends material possessions. As the cradle and chief centre of the Reformation in Ross and the North the place it holds is unique and permanent.

The facts brought together by Mr Taylor may be considered as not only establishing its precedence with respect to acceptance of the evangelical doctrines and the hold these had taken of the people, but that of the happy continuity of those proclaiming them, and indicated for us by the public records, distinguishing Tain over every other parish in the North.

Still the bright picture drawn by Mr Taylor of the Christian people of Easter Ross during the first and second Reformations appears to us as sadly in want of shading. We feel dismayed by its excess of light. It may be taken as certain that a high order of piety was general, but it is no less certain that there existed "pari passu" an amount of law-lessness and litigiousness which left semi-heathen South Ross completely in the shade. During the entire reign of James VI. deeds of violence abounded, the swearing of Law-burrows was alarmingly frequent, and will it be believed, under date May 7th, 1599, no fewer than thirteen of those legal instruments of defence were registered, in most of which burgesses of Tain were either the accusers or defenders!

During the long period in which the head burgh question remained unsettled—the Act of Parliament had left the particular burgh blank—it was in the power of the Sheriff-Principal (Mr Macleod of Geanies) to decide in which burgh county meetings and his own Court would be held, and Tain being in the vicinity of his residence, the choice fell naturally on it. This is in terms the only ground the place ever had on which to base its claim to be considered the County Town. But since it was so regarded, and being also the centre of a wide agricultural district, much important business to its manifest advantage was transacted there, and the town assumed a prosperous aspect.

But in 1844 the chief burgh question was decided by Parliament in a sense adverse to its interests and pretensions, so since then the staple industry to which, in our view, it owed its existence, has also met with adverse fortunes, the result being that its condition has been described as that of a standing still rather than a decaying or advancing town.

It is to be hoped that this condition of things will not last, and such industries will be established there as will more than compensate for the blight that has fallen upon agriculture. As a breezy health resort it takes high rank, while its ample links should attract thither many rotaries of the ancient and royal game of golf.

Cromarty, from having its short-lived charter granted so recently as 1662, and thus the youngest burgh in the Province, falls to be considered last, though as the site of a settled community it is in all probability one of the oldest in Scotland. For this direct proof is of course awanting, but from the appreciative references made to its roadstead by Roman authors, an appreciation which the local tribes had previously shown, it may have been that a community existed there for mutual help and protection contemporary with the builders of the brochs and stone circles.,

Though Burghead, the Ptoroton of Richard, the Alta Castra of Ptolmey, was the most northern town or settlement of the Romans, the Bay of Cromarty was known to them as the Portus Salutis, while Richard on his map designates the community or town of Cromarty as "Arae finium Imperii Romani," and, doubtless, the Imperial galleys flying before a nor'-easterly gale often found shelter and refreshment in its roadstead and from its people.

The Romans in due time departed—leaving no address—and the Celtic tribes had bay and town all to themselves for the next three hundred years, but the only trace we have of their occupancy exists in the Gaelic term for bay and town still in use—Croumba—the crooked bay or sound.

Its next permanent occupants were the fierce Norsemen, who, having come to stay, took possession not only of it but of the Ptoroton of the Romans as well, renaming the latter Burghead, and the former the Sicar-sund, or secure anchorage. As everybody knows, the trade for a long period of those men was pillage, and from their frequent descents on the opposite coast of Moray it afforded a convenient sally-port. On these accounts it was in all probability their first place of settlement on the mainland of Ross, and if this is conceded they would have arrived

there towards the close of the ninth century. On their first appearance a war of extermination against the tribes in possession appears to have been their settled policy, and from this period, we think, onward to that of Jarl Thorfinn's raid one hundred and fifty years later may be dated the erection of the numerous Tumili, indicative of scenes of slaughter, scattered far and wide over the Maol-buie. In this way also can the Lowland character of the inhabitants of Cromarty be accounted for. There is no record of any corresponding migration, if we except the Flemings, while every student of history is aware that the Anglo-Saxon population of the Lowlands of Scotland and the Norse invaders of the ninth and succeeding centuries were in blood, character, and even speech substantially the same people, nothing more being required for the retention of racial and lingual characteristics than that they should marry within their own race and keep together in sufficient numbers, which they manifestly did.

We have seen it stated on the competent authority of Dr Joass, Golspie, that the name of the town in connection with its Sheriffdom occurs in the records as early as 1263. This fact coincides with our own view, previously expressed, that its erection was probably due to William the Lion during his northern expedition.

The next date on which we fall in with the name is in 1303, the occasion being that on which Edward I. created William de Mohaut, then Baron of the Castle Leod property, "Qui est de fee Viscunt de Crombauthy"; an office which has been interpreted to mean Heritable Sheriff, but preferably, as we might now term it, Maritime Revenue officer-in-chief. We learn from Dalrymple's Annals that Cromarty and Wigton were the only Sheriffdoms of that character set up by Edward in Scotland.

Not a few well-informed people have been puzzled by the fact that while the wide Province of Ross, with Sutherland and Caithness, was for many years annexed to the Sheriffdom of Inverness, a mere corner thereof, Cromarty, town and parish, would have a similar functionary all to itself. This, however, is but a partial statement of the fact. The main, if not the sole purpose for the accomplishment of which this particular Sheriffdom was instituted was the control and taxation of all things maritime from Inverness to the Orkneys, both inclusive, but which, as may be seen from Dr C. F. Mackintosh's "Invernessiana,"

James IV. found to be a defective arrangement, and assigned these functions in what is termed the "Golden Charter of Inverness" to the latter town. Thus, Cromarty, therefore, remained a Sheriffdom in name only, though its Court of Regality dispensed what justice was going down to the period of 1746.

We find Cromarty next referred to in 1315, Bannockburn having put an end to all the arrangements of the English king; at which date Robert the Bruce conferred the office with all its pertinents on Hugh, erroneously said to be a minor, heir-apparent to the Earl of Ross, ultimately his own brother-in-law, and probably for valour shown at his father's side in the above decisive battle. As already stated, Earl Hugh was slain at the Battle of Hallidon Hill, in 1333, his successor not entering into possession until 1336. By Earl Hugh, however, Adam Urquhart—the first of the name—was appointed to the office of Heritable Sheriff, doubtless with the sanction of the Crown. Its Castle, so graphically described by Hugh Miller, was not erected until 1470, when under authority of James III. William Urquhart became its builder, and for the succeeding three hundred years it continued to dominate both town and roadstead.

At the Restoration (1661) and through the influence of Sir John, probably the worst of the Urquharts, Cromarty was created a Royal Burgh; but in accordance with the prevalent notions of political economy it was considered by those in high places that far too much money was made by trade, and so to prevent this abuse the corporate honour of buying and selling under Royal Authority had annexed to it a fine of ten shillings a month of our money! The burgh was then in a tolerably prosperous condition, but this tax—as may well be believed—was voted excessive, and as the result of a petition, of which Sir John was again the bearer, Cromarty was, in 1672, struck of the list of Royal Burghs.

We do not feel called upon the pursue the subject further, seeing that much of the story of Cromarty, so well told by its own gifted son, Hugh Miller, is, or should be, on every book-shelf in the Province. We regret that from its present comparatively inaccessible position this interesting little town and its environments are not so well known as they deserve to be. It is to be hoped that the railway, or an efficient steamboat service, due sooner or later, will remove this obstacle, and so

contribute to restore to the place a portion of its former prosperity. As bathing quarters it is excellent, and as a place wherein to spend a holiday it has no rival that we know of. To describe the origin of the many villages of the Province, several of which are of importance, would swell our pages unnecessarily, for the information can be readily obtained from the gazetteers and guide-books.

For the present our labours are over. It may be a disappointment to certain readers that the Land and the various Church questions agitating the Highlands during the second half of the 19th century have not been dealt with from an eye-witness point of view. The ashes of these controversies are, however, still too hot to walk over, but means will be taken to bring the various facts to paper, and should the record be called for, these may appear in posthumous form.

APPENDIX

LORD TARBAT'S LETTER REGARDING LORD ROSS.

To those of our readers not conversant with the byways of our Provincial history the name of this nobleman, so contemptuously referred to in the following letter of Lord Tarbat's, will come as a surprise: a few words, therefore, in reply to the two following questions will be proper. Who was Lord Ross of Hawkhead? and, What was his business in Ross? In answer to the first, the reply is that he was a member of a family which took their common designation from the Lordship of Ros, in Yorkshire. They migrated to Scotland during the Scot-Saxon period, appearing first as vassals of Richard de Moreville; Godfrey de Ros obtaining from the former the lands of Stewarton in Cunninghame. This Godfrey was the progenitor of the Rosses of Hawkhead, of Lord Ross of Tarbat in Cunninghame, of Ross of Sanguhar in Nithsdale, and others. It thus appears that the nobleman who had provoked Tarbat's ire, and who had become possessed of the Balnagown estates, and from whom, in the female line, the present Balnagown family are descended, had no more connection with the ancient Earls of Ross than with Genghis Khan. We make our first historic acquaintance with him in his capacity as associate of Claverhouse, Dalzell, Grierson of Lagg, and the like, in their Covenanter hunts; but having withal a strong element of worldly prudence in his nature he took care, as soon as the society in question became dangerous, to hedge, and from persecuting the Hillside folk took to persecuting the Prelatists, to which party we owe certain lines of doggerel, of which the following is a specimen: -

The Lord Ross's daily food, Was on martyrs' flesh and blood;

Now his breast doth inly burn For the King and a pure Reformation.

He was also one of the disreputable statesmen, or rather conspirators, of the Revolution period, as may be seen at length in Burton, H.S. p. 77.

As to the business which brought this precious vessel to Ross, the following abridged account must suffice. Lord Ross, having ascertained that the ancient Balnagown line was approaching extinction in the person of David Ross, and probably unaware that his estates were bonded up to the hilt, proceeded to work on the uxorious proclivities of that semi-fatuous individual and the vanity of his wife, "nee" Lady Ann Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Moray, through the ghostly medium of Mr Stewart, minister of Kiltearn, with whom was associated an Easter Ross minister, and for the purpose of having the succession to the estates made over to himself. Should the reader be curious to obtain a clear glimpse of Satan's Invisible World, as it then pursued its subterannean course among the best society in Ross, he would do well to read the history of this enterprise as it is narrated in Mr C. F. Mackintosh's Historical Notes, or, as it is fuller and more correctly set forth in the Kilrayock Papers.

One of the bribes he had authorised Stewart of Kiltearn to dangle before the vanity of his devotee follower, Lady Ann, was the historic title of Countess of Ross, the procuring of which, for her, he confidently affirmed to be within his power. By various arts in which he was ably seconded—for a consideration—by the unctuous minister, he succeeded But it would appear that when the chief bond-holder, Francis Stewart, brother of the Lady Ann, had brought forward his claims, Lord Ross found that he had not the wherewithal to meet them, and had to convey the estates to his brother, General Charles Ross, instead. At the General's death, which occurred in 1637, the estates reverted to his lordship, and next year the infeffment passed the great seal. Through the failure of male heirs the title became extinct, and the estates fell to his sister's child, Grissel, otherwise the Hon. Grissel Ross, wife of Sir James Lockhart of Carstairs, who had adopted his wife's surname, and whose son, Colonel Sir James Ross, accordingly succeeded. By the provisions of his uncle's will, Captain John Lockhart, his younger brother, obtained the property, assuming the name of Ross in addition to his own. His descendants are still in possession.

It would appear that instead of implementing his promise to Lady Ann, of procuring for her the title of Countess, Lord Hawkhead, sought to obtain a grant of the Earldom for himself, which would have made him the feudal superior of most of the heritors in the Shire of Ross; Lord Cromartie being indignant even at the idea of becoming the feudal vassal of a nobleman who had no connection whatever with the family or Earldom of Ross, and who, besides, was his mere tool during the "Troubles."

Referring to the claim of Lord Ross, Tarbat says: - "All the fiddling of this hot-headed fool (whom I did but too much to oblige) is that having made of late a new kind of purchase in Ross of a reversion of David Ross of Bellnagoun's lands, on which he dreamed himself some fantastic great thing, he would needs have him and his elected for the representative of five shires and seven burghs in the North, and several others in the South. One thing has turned his head round since he ever midled with Bellnagoun, that he being called Ross, and having a reversion of a piece of land in Ross, he must therefore be successor to, and will needs be, the Earl of Ross, who is indeed one of the first Earls in Scotland, and hade great superiorities; but, unluckily, my Lord, who is indeed ane old west country laird, knowing nothing of the Earldom of Ross, of their rights, of their rise and fall, and having no more relation to them, directly, or indirectly, than the miller of Carstares has to the Prince of Parma. He does not know that the Earles of Ross were never above two hundred years Earles of Ross; and that in that tyme there were two of them of the name of Macdonald, two of the name of Lesly, and three before that of no sirname, but were called Gulielimus, or Hugo de Rosse, as being Earles of Ross; he might have known, hade he read any of our history, that these few were in frequent rebellion, that they were very early forfeited, that the Earledom was annexed to the Crown in perpetuitie, and that by a precise and solemn Act of Parliament it is statute that the king shall never dispone it to any but a second son, and that it shall always be a title to the second son, and that it was always so with all the Scottish Kings when they hade second sons. It was foolish in my Lord to think that the Queen's servants were ignorant in these things as himself; but to discover the further impudence of his project it is fit that Her Majesty and her servants know that very considerable families have parts of this Earledom of Ross, some of which would be so vain as to think my Lord but a little man either in Scotland, Brittain, or in himself. Such are the Earles of Seaforth, and several other considerable heritors of that name, the Earl of Cromartie, Rosehaugh, Scatwell, Gairloch, Coul,

Redcastle, Culcoy, Fowles, Culrain, Kilravock, Cadboll, Fairburn, Tulloch, Macleod of Lewes, Macdonald of Applecross, Davochmaluac, and Suddie, many of which does not think my Lord Ross fit to be their superior; and it does not seem probable that Her Majesty or her councillors will allow the interposition and the constituting of any new man, or other man, to have superiority, not (only) over persons, but over so many clanns and considerable ones."—(Original Memorandum at Tarbat House).

THE RENT-ROLL OF THE EARLDOM OF ROSS

TOWARDS THE CLOSE OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

THE story of this interesting and important document is as follows:-Sir George S. Mackenzie of Coul, in his Survey of Ross and Cromartyshires, so frequently referred to in the previous pages, writes as follows (page 53), "I find the following rental in my Charter Chest, written in an old character. It has no date." Its title is as follows:—"Rental of the hail Fermes, Maills, and Kanes, within the Earldom of Ross and Lordship of Armeanach, assignit to the Queenis Matie in compensation." It is certain that the Queen referred to was Anne of Denmark, who became the wife of James VI. on November 24th, 1590, and whom we find from the Privy Council Records had accorded to her as the "kingis darest bedfellowis" among other gratifications during the following year the revenues of the Earldom of Ross settling for us the date. We shall take the liberty, however, of modernising the arithmetic; and in this connection the reader will please remember that the pound Scots was in value but twenty-one pence of our present money, the shilling Scots was consequently of no more value than between twopence and three halfpence of present currency. Many of the farms, it will be seen, still bear the ancient names; in the case of some of the rest we have supplied what, according to our present lights, we consider their present appellations.

Meikill Allane - - beir and meal - 6 chalders.

Do. - - poultrie - 10 birds.

Culrossie - - beir and meal - 3 chalders.

Do. - - - poultrie - 4 birds.

Drummendiah (Drumder	fit ?)-	beir and m	eal -	3 chalders.	
Do. do.	-	poultrie		4 birds.	
Glascullie (Glastullich) -	-	beir and m	eal -	6 chalders.	
Do. do				8 birds.	
Drumgillie				6 chalders.	
Do			-		
Meikill Meddat		beir and me			
Do					
M D. 11	1	poultrie	•		
		poultrie		ı bird.	
Ruffis (?)		poultrie	•	ı bird.	
Knock-na-pairk	-	poultrie	-		
Ballantraid	-	poultrie	-	ı bird.	
Faychlathie	-	poultrie	-	I bird.	
Ard-na-gaag	-	poultrie	-	ı bird.	
Delney	_		eal -	3 chalders.	
Incheffer	-			r bird.	
Kincraig	_			3 chalders,	8 holls
Temetalg	-	och and m	cai -	ı peck.	O DOMS
Do					
	-		-	2 animals.	
Do	-	- · ·	-	2 do.	
Do		oats		12 bolls.	
Culkenny (Rosebank?)-	-	beir and me		1 chalder, 8	bolls.
Do.	-	oats	-	12 bolls.	
Do.	-	cattle	-	4 animals.	
Do.	-	sheep	-	4 do.	
Craigmilne (Millcraig) -	-			1 chalder, 2	bolls.
Cullichmamch (Coilich, E					
Ardross)	-	beir		6 bolls.	
Do. do.	_		_	2 animals.	
Do. do.	-				1 11.
Tullichmoir (Novar, &c.)	•			1 chalder, 14	DOIIS.
Do. do.	-			12 bolls.	
Do. do.	-	cattle	-	4 animals.	
Do. do.	-	sheep	-	4 do.	
Brechnach (part of Newto	on) -	poultrie	-	ı bird.	
Balcony, with the brew-la		•			
of the half dail of					
maloch, the lands					
(Teaninich ?), Culflut					
Crestone and the Mile	iciis,				
Craftcraggy, the Mile	16 01				
Alnes, the yair of Balo	ony,				
and steil (cruive) of	Ard-				
toy (Glass)	-			2 chalders, 8	bolls.
Do. do.	-			2 animals.	
Do. do.	-		-	2 do.	
Do. do.	-	capones	-	12 birds.	
Do. do.	-		ultrie	5 do.	-
				•	

Culcarnein (Cu	ulcairn)	-		beir and meal	-	4 chalders, 8 bolls.
Do d	lo.			oats		2 do. 4 do.
Do. d	1.	•	-	vais	-	2 00. 4 00.
DO. 0	10.	-	-	capones	-	12 birds. 1 chalder, 8 bolls.
Swerdall (Swo:	rdale)	-	-	beir and meal	-	1 chalder, 8 bolls.
Do.	•	-		oats cattle	-	12 bolls.
Do.		-		onttle		
			-	came	-	4 animals.
Do.		-	-	sheep poultrie	-	4 do.
Do.		-	-	poultrie	-	g birds.
Fyris (Fyrish)	_	_	_	heir and meal	_	i chalder, 8 bolls.
Fyris (Fyrish) Do.	_					
		-	-	oats		12 bolls.
Do.	-	-	-		-	4 animals.
Do.	-	-	_	sheep poultrie	-	4 do.
Do.	-	-		Doultrie		13 birds.
		-	-	poultrie		
Milne of Culc	raggie	-		beir and meal		
Brewland of c	10	-	-	capones -	-	12 birds.
Milnton of	Culr	naloch	ıν	•		
(Rallachr	naann)		-)	noultrio		ı bird.
Cocanacin	agganj	-	-	poultrie do.		
Croft of do.		-	-	do.	-	ı bird.
Milna of Catte	al /L ^r ata			boin and meal	-	1 chalder, 2 bolls.
Do	ob'`	,		canones	_	24 hirds
Tittil Conttal /	7 :441a Ca	- 4 11 [\]		lesi-		_ L:J
Litti Scattai (rune 2c	atwen,) -	capones poultrie poultrie	-	i bird.
Rowie (Rogie	:) -	-	-	poultrie	-	ı bird.
Kinnellan, wi	th its M	fill, ar	hr	•		
C 1		,				
[(011]		_	_	money	_	/ TO OR 2d
Cour -	•	•	-	money	-	£19 os. 3d.
Wester Dryn	i e (Hei	ights	of	money	-	£ 19 0s. 3d.
Wester Dryn	i e (Hei	ights	of	money	-	235.
Wester Dryn	i e (Hei	ights	of	money	-	235.
Wester Dryn Fodderty	ni e (Hei r) - Do.	ights -	of -	money	-	235.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival	ie (Hei	ights -	of - -	poultrie money	- - -	23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do.	nie (Hei	ights - -	of - - -	poultrie money oats	- - -	23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do.	ie (Hei	ights - -	of - - -	poultrie money oats beir and meal	- - -	23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do.	ni e (Hei	ights - -	of - - -	poultrie money oats beir and meal	- - -	23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do.	iie (Hei	ights	of - - -	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do.	Do.	ghts	of -	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.	ie (Hei	ights	of -	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do.	ie (Hei	ights	of -	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.	ie (Hei	ights	of -	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Lis Mill, terr dain	nie (Hei	ghts	of - - - - - -	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. 1 chalder, 2 bolls.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. The Mill, terr dain The Brewland	nie (Hei	ghts	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. 1 chalder, 2 bolls.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Its Mill, terr dain The Brewland Kinhard (Kir	nie (Hei	ghts	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal money money		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. 1 chalder, 2 bolls. 16s. £4.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. The Mill, terr dain The Brewland	nie (Hei	ghts	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal money money		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. 1 chalder, 2 bolls. 16s. £4.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. The Mill, terr dain The Brewland Kinhard (Kir Do.	nie (Hei	ghts	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal money money beir and meal		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. I chalder, 2 bolls. 16s. £4. I chalder, 8 bolls.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Its Mill, terr dain The Brewland Kinhard (Kir Do. Do.	nie (Hei	ghts	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal money money beir and meal		23s. 2 birds. £ 3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. I chalder, 2 bolls. 16s. £4. I chalder, 8 bolls. 12 bolls.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Its Mill, terr dain The Brewland Kinhard (Kin Do. Do. Do.	nie (Hei	ights	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal money money beir and meal oats cattle		23s. 2 birds. £ 3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. I chalder, 2 bolls. 16s. £4. I chalder, 8 bolls. 12 bolls. 4 animals.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Its Mill, terr dain The Brewland Kinhard (Kir Do. Do. Do. Do.	ie (Hei	ghts	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal money money beir and meal oats cattle		23s. 2 birds. £ 3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. I chalder, 2 bolls. 16s. £ 4. I chalder, 8 bolls. 12 bolls. 4 animals. 4 do.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Its Mill, terr dain The Brewland Kinhard (Kir Do. Do. Do. Do.	ie (Hei	ghts	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal money money beir and meal oats cattle		23s. 2 birds. £ 3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. I chalder, 2 bolls. 16s. £4. I chalder, 8 bolls. 12 bolls. 4 animals.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Its Mill, terr dain The Brewland Kinhard (Kir Do. Do. Do. Do.	ie (Hei	ghts	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal money money beir and meal oats cattle sheep poultrie		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. I chalder, 2 bolls. 16s. £4. I chalder, 8 bolls. 12 bolls. 4 animals. 4 do. 7 birds.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Its Mill, terr dain The Brewland Kinhard (Kir Do. Do. Do. Do.	ie (Hei	ghts	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal money money beir and meal oats cattle sheep poultrie		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. I chalder, 2 bolls. 16s. £4. I chalder, 8 bolls. 12 bolls. 4 animals. 4 do. 7 birds. £3.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Its Mill, terr dain The Brewland Kinhard (Kir Do. Do. Do. Do.	ie (Hei	ghts	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal money money beir and meal oats cattle sheep poultrie money money money money money money		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. 1 chalder, 2 bolls. 16s. £4. 1 chalder, 8 bolls. 12 bolls. 4 animals. 4 do. 7 birds. £3. £3.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Its Mill, terr dain The Brewland Kinhard (Kir Do.	ie (Hei	ights	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal money money beir and meal oats cattle sheep poultrie money money poultrie money money poultrie		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. 1 chalder, 2 bolls. 16s. £4. 1 chalder, 8 bolls. 12 bolls. 4 animals. 4 do. 7 birds. £3. £3. 4 birds.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Its Mill, terr dain The Brewland Kinhard (Kir Do.	ie (Hei	ights	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal money money beir and meal oats cattle sheep poultrie money money poultrie money money money money poultrie money money poultrie money		23s. 2 birds. £3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. 1 chalder, 2 bolls. 16s. £4. 1 chalder, 8 bolls. 12 bolls. 4 animals. 4 do. 7 birds. £3. £3. 4 birds.
Wester Dryn Fodderty Ardival Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Its Mill, terr dain The Brewland Kinhard (Kir Do. Do. Do. Do. The Two Bre	ie (Hei	ights	of	poultrie money oats beir and meal cattle sheep poultrie beir and meal money beir and meal oats cattle sheep poultrie money money poultrie money money poultrie money		23s. 2 birds. £ 3 9s. 4d. 6 bolls. 13 bolls. 2 animals. 2 do. 6 birds. I chalder, 2 bolls. 16s. £ 4. I chalder, 8 bolls. 12 bolls. 4 animals. 4 do. 7 birds. £ 3. £ 3. 4 birds.

Park	poultrie -	ı bird.
Voladaill (Lands of Castle	poultric	i onu.
Leod)	money -	6s.
Do	poultrie -	
Meikill Scatwell	•	£5 4s.
Do	cattle -	, ,
Do	poultrie -	
Urray	•	£4.
Do	poultrie -	4 birds.
Kilquhillardrum (Druim)		£ 10 8s.
		i bird.
20.	Pourtie	
Ord		20 - 0 301 - 701
Do	Podititie	8 birds.
Mill of Druim	,	£10 8s.
Do	beir and meal -	
Do	poultrie -	
Balleblane (Balblair)		£10.
Do	poultrie -	r bird.
Balnagowne Urray	money ·	\pounds_3 .
Do	poultrie -	2 birds.
Balnaknock	money	- £3.
Do	poultrie -	4 birds.
Tarradaill, with the brewland -	money -	£6 16s.
Do	poultrie -	ı bird.
Milne of Tarradaill, with the	•	•
alehouse	money	- 33s. 4d.
The Ferry of Scatwell	•	- 23S.
Logyreich, Connan policies	,	J
and Mains	money	- £4.
Do.	poultrie	- 4 birds.
Its brewlands	•	- £10 8s.
Easter Kessock		\mathcal{L}_3 10s.
Do		- 2 animals.
Do	•	- 12 birds.
Do		- 12 onas. - 10 do.
Ferry of Kessock -		- £8 4s.
		- £643. - 168.
Steil of Kessock	money	- 16s. - 16s.
Brewland of Kessock -	money	_
Easter Pollo	mone y	- £4 45.
Auchnaclerach		- £4 8s.
Do	poditito	- 1 bird.
The Morechmore		£ 10.
Sargasoun (Gargaston?)		- £10,5s.
Do.		- 8 bolls, 2 firlots
Do.		- 1 animal.
Do	Outer C	- 1 do.
Do.	poultrie	- 8 birds.

Newton	-	-	-	-	money		-	£18.
Do.	-	_	-	-			-	2 chalders, 2 bolls.
Do.	-	-	-	_	cattle		-	
Do.	-	_	-	_	mutton		-	2 do.
Do.	_	-	-	-	poultrie		-	ı bird.
Suddy Croft	and	brewl	land		money		-	
	-	-	_	-	money			£9 13s. 7d.
Do.		_	_	_	beir		_	i chalder, i boll.
Do.	_	_	-	_	cattle		_	i animal.
Do.	_	_	_	_	sheep		_	
Do.	_	_	_	_	poultrie			8 birds.
Mill of Culb	okie	_	_	_	beir and	meal	_	15 bolls, 3 fir., 3 pks.
Drumcuddin		_	_	-	money		_	
		_	-	-	beir		_	1 1 6 1 11 6
Do.	-	-	-	-	oats	0	-	1 11
Do.	-	-	-					
Do.	-	-	-	-	cattle		-	ı animal.
Do.	-	-	-	-			-	i do.
Do.	-	,	- ı	-	poultrie		-	58 birds.
Wester half		ch o	t abor		money			£5, 16s. 4d.
	Do.			-	beir			To come, a mily a price
	Do.			-	oats		-	4 bolls.
	Do.			-	cattle		-	31/2.
	Do.			-	sheep		-	31/2.
	Do.			-	poultrie		-	27 birds.
Easter half d	avocł	ı of a'	bove	-	money		-	£3 3s. 11d.
	Do.			-	beir		-	5 bols, 1 firlot, 1 peck.
	Do.			-	oats		-	ı boll.
	Do.			-	beef		-	ı quarter.
•	Do.			-	mutton		_	ı quarter.
	Do.			-	poultrie		٠	13 birds.
Its brewland	S	-	-	_	money		_	30s.
Killane (Kill		_	-	_	money			\mathcal{L}_3 10s.
Do.	,			-	poultrie		_	i bird.
Bemethfeild	(Ber	netsf	ield)	_			_	£7 18s.
	Oo.			-	poultrie		_	i bird.
Milne of Pet		-	_	_	money		_	£7 4s.
Its brewland		-	-	_	money		_	\mathcal{L}_3 2S. 1d.
Do.	_	_	_	_	poultrie			i bird.
Drynie	_	_	_	_	money			£6 14s. 5d.
Do.		_		_	beir			2 chal., 6 bolls, 1 pk.
Do.				_	oats			4 bolls.
	_	_	-	-	cattle		_	
Do.	-	-	-	-				r animal.
Do.		-			sheep		_	27 birds.
Do.		-	-	-	poultrie		-	27 birds.
Its brewland		- h	- /Dag	-	money	•	•	105.
Milne of P					1			a shaldows a halla
haugh)	-	-	-	-	beir	-	-	2 chalders, 2 bolls.

Milne of Pittonochy		-		-	24 birds.
Do.		-	poultrie	-	ı bird.
Sir William Keith, his					
mentation of his fe					6
Dunglust -		•	money		£20.
Drumdarswood (Drumo	iernt)	-	money	-	£10 16s.
Do.		-	beir	-	2 chalders, 8 bolls, 2
Do.		_	oats		firlots, 2½ pecks. 4 bolls.
Do.		_	cattle		r animal.
Do.		_	sheep		ı animal.
Do.		-	poultrie		27 birds.
Miltoun of Meikle Me	eddat.		Pomme		- / o.i.db.
with its brewlands		-	money	-	138 4d.
Do.		-	beir and meal	_	6 chalders, 3 bolls.
Tulloch Ballasies (? M	(ilne))			3 201121
	_ ′		money.	-	£18 4s.
Do.		-	money - poultrie	-	2 birds.
Moy, Midfairbairne, Au	chna-		•		
soul, and Balavaire	1 -		money	-	£30 17s. 4d.
Do.			beir and meal	-	r chalder, 2 bolls.
Do.			oats	-	
Do.		-	cattle	-	3 animals.
Do.		-	sheep poultrie	-	3 animals.
Do.		-	poultrie	-	23 birds.
Coilmore, Drumna Muren, Milne or	mairg	,			
Muren, Milne or	Red	-			
castle	-	-	beir		2 chalders, 2 bolls.
Do. do.		-		-	2 animals.
Do. do. Branmore -		-	sheep		2 do.
Branmore Forrest of Rannoch		-	money		18s.
Forrest of Rannoch	-	-	beir and meal		8 bolls.
D0.	•	-	cattle	-	3 animals.
and the amount				-	£12.
Minren	-	-	beir	-	2 chalders, 10 bolls, 2 pecks.
Do	-	-	cattle	-	2 animals.
Do	-	-		-	2 do.
		-		-	46 birds.
Milne of Red Castle			money	-	26s. 8d.
Augmentation of John St		's			
feu farm -		-	money	-	
Castleton	-	-	b e ir ´	-	1 chalder, 5 bolls,
					ı peck.
Do	-	-	oats		4 bolls.
		-		-	
Do	-	-	sheep	-	ı do.

APPENDIX.

Castleton -	-	-	-	poultrie	-	59 birds.
Its Croft -	-	-	-	beir	-	
Balmaduchtie	-	-	-	beir	-	1 chalder, 5 bolls,
						ı peck.
Do.	-	-	-	oats	-	4 bolls.
Do.	-	-	-	cattle	-	ı animal.
Do.	-	-	-	sheep	-	
Do.	-	-	-	poultrie	-	55 birds.
Suddy -	-	-	-	beir	-	1 chalder, 5 bolls,
•						ı peck.
Do	-	-	-	cattle	-	ı animal.
Do	-	-	-	sheep	-	ı animal.
Do	-	-	-	poultrie	-	57 birds.
Milne of Suddie	-	-	~	beir	-	1 chalder, 3 bolls,
•						2 pecks.
Do.	-	-	-	capones	-	18 birds.
Do.	-	-	-	poultrie	-	2 birds.
Auchtercloy (Au	chterf	low)	-	beir	-	2 chalders, 2 bolls.
Do.		•	-	oats	-	8 bolls.
Do.			-	cattle	-	2 animals.
Do.			-	sheep	-	
Do.			-	poultrie	-	35 birds.
Daccharne, Dal	pollo,	Inve	er-	•		• •
gordon Ma						
Clarschor	(Carno	clarsa	r),			
Pitilarndy	` (Pit	lund	y),			
Culboks (C						•
the brewlan	\mathbf{d}	-	-	cattle	-	2½ animals.
Do.		-	-	sheep	-	3½ animals.
Do.		-	-	poultrie	-	96 birds.
Pittomochrae (Tore)	-	-	beir	-	1 chalder, 5 bolls,
,	,					ı peck.
Do.		-	-	oats	-	4 bolls.
Do.		-	-	cattle	-	1 animal.
Do.		-	-	sheep	-	ı do.
Do.			-	poultri e	-	55 birds.
Tollie, Brahan	-	-	-	dry multure	-	
Wester Kessock	_	-	_	-	-	48 birds.
	-					
Do.	-	-	-		-	10 birds.
Do.	-			poultrie	~	10 birds. 4 animals.
	-		-	poultrie sheep	~	10 birds.

THE REMONSTRANCE ANENT SEAFORTH'S PROPOSED '15 CAMPAIGN.

THE following from the Seaforth Papers, is the Remonstrance, in modern spelling, anent Seaforth's proposed '15 campaign, by which his chieftains strove—in company with his mother, Countess Francis, and his wife, Countess Mary—to detach him from Mar's foolish enterprise. The gentlemen were ordered to attend at Brahan on September 9th, and the few who obeyed were the bearers of the missive from those who did not:—

"Most Honourable—It is hoped that your Lordship will not be surprised nor yet offended at our absence this day, since it was out of no disregard nor the want of the duty and respect we owe your Lorship, but purely from the tender concern we have of your true honour and interest in the present position of affairs which to us at this critical juncture, that lie at so great a distance from intelligence, appear so dubious that we cannot yet make a distinct judgment far less offer suitable advice to the present exigencies of so great importance. And as we still retain the same inclinations to your person and interest, so we doubt not to acquit ourselves good kinsmen, but also loyal subjects, when a fair opportunity offers.

"We are sorry to hear that the numerous meeting this day (which might easily have excused the absence of a few) came to no resolution, nor yet proposed measures for your Lordship's more orderly proceeding on the present undertaking, which can be attributed to no other thing but the want of time, and a due consideration of the importance of the matter in hand, which though it seemed but legal and trivial to them, yet to us of the last consequence to your Lordship and us, our lives, liberties, and fortune being all at stake, and if the worst should happen, at the mercy of a Government from whom we are to expect no quarter.

"Our first reason is, we judge it not proper any rising to be made on our part till ascertained of the king's landing, and his declaration with a particular Commission directed to your Lordship made known to us. Next, we humbly think that such public meetings for concerting matters of that nature are of most dangerous consequence in the construction of law, both to your Lordship and us as we are at present situated, and therefore our absence ought to be the sooner excused, our mutual safety depending thereon.

"In the third place we consider your country and friends were never worse prepared for such an enterprise, both as to officers, arms, ammunition, and other necessary provisions. These being the sinews of war cannot be wanting ere men be levied to enter upon any expedition.

"In the last place we cannot but show our dislike in some measure to the methods proposed by the Earl of Mar, which to us seem to tend to hurry your Lordship into measures that in the event may prove prejudicial to you, and ruinous to us, and that the rather that we are made to understand his Lordship is in terms with the Government and may expect a favourable acceptance; upon all which considerations we concluded your Lordship would not vouchsafe your presence to this day's meeting, but rather send a friend to commune with them, as was last night insinuated, and though the state of our health will not allow us in this season of the year to go to the field, yet we want not inclination to serve that cause in all we are able, nor do we dissuade your Lordship from it, only that we beg matters may be gone about with that deliberation and conduct that might be expected from a person of your prudence and discretion, and not run rashly into measures that cannot be so easily retrieved. So begging your Lordship's pardon for what we now offer, though unsigned by us for reasons, we remain,-Most Honourable, your Lordship's most obedient and humble servants.

"September 9th, 1715.

"P.S.—This day's meeting makes it absolutely necessary that you take better care of yourself than hitherto, and cause to have a watchful eye over all spies and strangers that come about, and cause guard all ferries and passes, and pack up immediately everything that's valuable in your house, and commit the secret of it to but a few trusted servants.

"We are likewise of opinion that expresses be immediately sent off to Sir Donald Macdonald, the laird of Mackinnon, and the Tutor of Macleod, to see if they cordially now join their men with yours, and on sight to bring them in to the mainland for the better suppressing of the insults of our enemies at home, who will certainly be ready on the Earl of Sutherland's arrival, which we think will make it absolutely necessary that your Lordship with your men, in conjunction with those above mentioned, remain in the country, it being better service done the cause than by marching southward. The securing our little effects and others going for intelligence obliges us to send this instead of waiting your Lordship as we purposed."

SEAFORTH'S DISPATCH TO MAR.

The following is the dispatch detailing his achievements during the Alness campaign, addressed by Seaforth to Mar, and referred to in the text. We have taken the liberty of editing, to a certain extent, this windy document. It should, moreover, be read in connection with the Earl of Sutherland's memorandum and Æneas Sage's remonstrance, and consequently with a great deal more than a pinch of critical salt:—

My Lord,—After I returned Fowlis from his attempt on the town of Inverness, under pretence of relieving the House of Culloden, said to be beseiged by the Laird of Mackintosh, Fowlis applied (for succour) to the Earl of Sutherland, who had newly arrived from London, on being appointed Lieutenant of most of the Northern Shires, who with all the forces he could raise of his own tenant vassals and dependents, with those of my Lord Reay, the Gunns of the Glen, most of the Rosses, and others, joined Fowlis younger at Alness, and encamped there with all the forces at his command; giving out that they formed a body of between 3000 and 4000 men, their ultimate design, as they confidently boasted, being to batter down the House of Brahan, possess themselves of the town of Inverness, and entirely over-run Lord Seaforth's lands. With this end in view they not only got six pieces of cannon, with suitable ammunition from a man-of-war in Cromarty Roads, but also had a concert with 600 of the Grants, 200 of Kilravock's people, 100 from Brodie, 100 from Culloden, and some of the Stratherrick Frasers to join their camp by sea; for which intent several vessels were sent them from the Firth of Cromarty

"In the meantime, on being joined by Sir Donald Macdonald, and thus at the head of a considerable body of resolute men, on Saturday, 8th October, I marched from Dingwall up the hill to Strathskiak, and on my way my scouts espied some horse and foot of the enemy, to whom they gave chase, and shot one of the foot through the knee, which wound proved fatal, the rest, among whom was young Fowlis, though chased, succeeded in carrying the intelligence to the enemy's camp.

"That night I encamped at Clare, a little village (township) belonging to Fowlis, and the next morning, being Sunday, I marched eastward through the mountains with the design, if it were possible, to attack the enemy that day, but when I came to Boath, a place belonging to Munro of Novar, and four miles (six) distant from the enemy's camp, I found it impracticable to reach them that day. I accordingly encamped there, and where I had reports from persons captured by my outer guards to the effect that the enemy had deserted their camp, and had marched towards the hills to attack me; whereon I doubled my guards and ordered the whole army to rest upon their arms that night.

"Next morning (9th) I marched by daybreak, dispatched several scouts, as well to view the place where the enemy had encamped at Alness as to spy those hills to which it was said they had retreated, and according as I should be informed, attack them in either of the places.

"But ere I had marched three miles off I was distinctly informed that about twelve o'clock on the day before the enemy, on being assured of my approach, left their camp with all precipitation and disorder, being so struck with terror that most of them threw off their plaids, cast away their arms, and left their cannon, which was that night conveyed to the man-of-war from whence they had come; the confusion being so great that the Earl of Sutherland, the Lords of Strathnaver and Reay, with several other persons of note, crossed over to Bonar, which is the only entry into Sutherland, with forty men only, leaving the rest to make their way to their respective homes as they best could. Fowlis, younger, with such as did not desert him of his own followers, returned by the hills to his Castle of Fowlis, all the time garrisoned and fortified by his father. In this retreat there is one passage that ought not to be omitted, viz., the Lord Reay (who had abandoned his sumpture cloth and other baggage) beat one of his servants who had offered to take with him one of his Lordship's holster covers which had fallen, telling him how durst he expose the party so much to a resolute pursuing enemy by encumbering himself with such a trifle, holster capes being easily had but not so lives.

"I, finding the enemy thus flown away, and passed into Sutherland where they could not be easily reached, the boats having been secured on the other side, marched to their late camping ground at Alness, where I stayed all night, and finding it a central place betwixt the Rosses and

Munros, I continued there next day, and sent to Fowlis, the other principal men of the Munros, and all the Rosses to accept my protection as security for their peaceable behaviour, otherwise to expect to be treated as enemies.

"Whilst waiting for a reply from those gentlemen, most of those from Moray—formerly named—having embarked at Nairn on Tuesday, the 4th, arrived at Shandwick, in Ross, at eight o'clock that night, intending to join the Earl of Sutherland, but forty of the party had not landed when they had intelligence that the Earl had retreated, and that I was in possession of his camp; whereon they immediately returned to their boats, and returned to the port from whence they had sailed, leaving no other memory of their expedition but the slaughter of some few sheep they had found in a cottage by the shore.

"Upon Wednesday, the 12th, I detached my Lord Duffus with 300 men, by eight o'clock in the morning, to proclaim the King at the Mercat Cross of Tain, and to summon in His Majesty's name the Magistrates and community to give up their arms as security for their peaceable behaviour; and some hours after I went myself with some horse to Kincraig's House, a loyal gentleman of my own name, hard by, which (residence) Sir William Gordon of Dalpholly's lady, with his brethren and friends, kept a garrison in his house of Inverbreakie.

"This lady who, on my first approach to Alness, was forsaken by her husband, his brethren and most of his friends, sent for my protection by a gentleman who met me on my way to Kincraig, with whom I sent a gentleman to assure her that as the king, my master, required nothing at present from his subjects but due obedience and loyalty, so I was willing to give protection in His Majesty's name to all who would come into these measures, and who would give up their arms and ammunition as security for their good behaviour; these conditions were now offered to her.

"Upon receipt of this message the lady made a polite devoir; entreated that I would enter her house to receive the arms she acknowledged to have, and consented that a search should be made for such arms and ammunition as might still be supposed to be there; which was accordingly done, and some were found and brought to the camp.

"While quartered at Kincraig several of the name of Ross, Macleod of Cadboll, Macleod of Geanies, the Tutor of Hilton, and others, waited

upon me in obedience to the message sent them, but stipulated for delay until twelve o'clock, Friday, the 14th, for the performance of the duty required of them; which, upon their parole's of honour, promising not only to do that, but also to bring in all the other Rosses with them, the delay was granted.

"Lord Duffus arrived at Tain at twelve of the clock, noon, and proclaimed His Majesty, assisted by the Magistrates, at the Mercat Cross thereof, accompanied with the ringing of bells and such other solemnities as the place afforded; the Magistrates and Council joining him thereafter in drinking several loyal healths very cheerfully, and promising to live peaceably. Very few arms were found in the town, those they had been taken away recently by the Earl of Sutherland.

"The next day (Thursday) his Lordship returned to the camp about two o'clock, having sent a number of his men to apprehend those who stood out, and secure that the boats of the several ferries would not be at the disposal of the enemy."

THE AFFAIR OF THE MACRAS.

30

From the Aberdeen Journal (September 28th, 1778).

"FURTHER particulars of the revolt of Lord Seaforth's regiment, from a private letter, to a gentleman in Aberdeen:—

"A few of the worst men embarked readily; the remainder, to the number of 600 or 700, refused obstinately. A dangerous insurrection arose in the street between the willing and refractory ones; the officers were roughly handled, and were lucky in escaping with their lives; the Earl of Seaforth's life was for several hours valued at nothing. They struck him, reviled him, and used him in such a manner that it is scarce creditable he can ever propose heading them again. On Thursday afternoon the mutineers repaired to Arthur's Seat, whence they have not yet stirred. They are a strong body considering our internal weakness, and have repeatedly refused to harken to any terms, though every reasonable condition had been proposed to them. Nothing but cursing their officers, for whom to a man they expressed the highest detestation, and are resolved never to go on board ship or lay down their arms. The town people imprudently encouraged them, and supplied them in their elevated station with the necessaries and many of the luxuries of life

to which they had until then been strangers. The Magistrates nor His Majesty's principal officers dare not prevent them, for it would immediately draw down the resentment of those mad Highlanders, and expose the town to certain pillage. They have by all accounts been used extremely ill, perhaps not indeed enough to warrant their present frenzy. It is said they propose marching off to Stirling, and that precautions are taken that they shall not make good their escape to the Highlands. This is the report. Every soft method has been tried in vain. Money, which was the primary object, is now only a secondary one. They detest their officers for oppressing them, and, as they say, defrauding them; and such of the officers as have attempted to parley with them have had the pleasure of running full speed down the hill with the bullets flying after them. They (the soldiers) are as mad with drink as with enthusiasm, and declare that they will die to a man rather than serve with their officers. They offer to follow General Oughten or General Skene, wherever they would lead them, and a very pathetic harangue was delivered in presence of General Skene by one of their ringleaders, on the vices and bad qualities of their Colonel, whose character he drew in most masterly terms. I had the pleasure of patrolling this morning round the encampment, for though without tents, and not so much as a sergeant among them, they preserve the best disposition, and of a most desolate place make a most elegant summit to Arthur's Seat. Coxheath cannot have a more warlike appearance. It puts one in mind of the warriors of Ossian, seen from afar, with their glittering arms on the tops of the mountains. Letters of Thursday say his Lordship was very much abused. He condescended so far as to kneel down and ask pardon, if he had offended any of them, and begged that they would return to their duty; but so exasperated were they that one of them knocked him down with his musket, and had not an officer and some other gentlemen rescued him, and carried him to a house in the neighbourhood, he must certainly have been run through with their bayonets and fallen a victim to their rage. Several shots were fired here, but no person was hurt; one gentleman narrowly escaped, the cane in his hand being snapped in two with a ball. Very reasonable and encouraging proposals of accommodation were sent to them last night by General Skene by a trustworthy interpreter (a perfect master of the Gaelic language), to which some of the most sensible listened coolly, and seemed

disposed to accede to his proposals and offers, but the malicious insinuations of some visitors from the city persuaded them that these promises and offers were a mere decoy, and calculated to mislead them, and upon the interpreter's second visit and address this morning these assertions had gained such ascendancy that they would hardly listen to any plan of pacification, and particularly insisted upon a change of officers."

"Edinburgh, Friday Evening.

"On Wednesday and Thursday several messages passed between General Skene and the men. They were visited by the General, Lord Dunmore, Lord Macdonald, and some other noblemen, gentlemen, and clergy, who endeavoured to soothe them into an acceptance of the lenient terms proposed. Last night one of their officers was put under arrest by the General, on whom it is said a Court-Martial will be held to-morrow, and it is also said to be the wish of the whole of the officers to have their conduct inquired into, that if any faults have been committed the blame may fall upon the guilty, the innocent escape, and so mutual confidence be restored. This morning the men on the hill accepted of the terms proposed, which are: -First, a general pardon for all that is passed; secondly, all the arrears and levy money paid them before they embark; thirdly, that they shall never be sent to the East Indies. A bond was given for implementing these articles, signed by the Duke of Buccleugh, Earl of Dunmore, Sir Adolphus Oughten, and General Skene.

"At eleven o'clock the men marched down, headed, by Lord Dunmore, to St Anne's Yards, where they were met by General Skene, whom they saluted with three cheers; they then formed a hollow square, and had the articles read over and delivered to them, after which the General made a speech, advising them to behave well, and informing them that a Court of Inquiry would be held upon the officers to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, in Cannongate Guardhouse, to be composed of officers belonging to other regiments, when every man who felt aggrieved might attend and get justice done him. They were billeted in the suburbs till Monday, when they are to embark.

"During this unhappy dispute the humanity and prudence of General Oughten, General Skene, and other gentlemen concerned, cannot be sufficiently commended. With this compromise, however, the officers do not seem to be satisfied, as appears from the following, addressed to the 'Advertiser':—

"'As we conceive the terms granted this day to the mutineers of the 78th Regiment to be totally inconsistent with the future discipline of the regiment, and highly injurious to our character as officers, we think we are in duty bound to take this opportunity of declaring publicly that it was transacted without advice and against our opinion. We understand Lord Dunmore was the principal agent on this occasion; we think it necessary also to declare that he was never desired to interfere by any officer in the regiment, and believe he acted without any authority whatever.—The Officers of the 78th Regiment.'

"The regiment was to have embarked at Leith docks on the 22nd of September. A division of the regiment was stationed in the Castle, and these cheerfully prepared for embarkation; but another division quartered upon the inhabitants of the Cannongate and Abbey had been exposed to the intrigues and subtleties of the political clubs of the day, and were otherwise minded. Differences existed between the officers and the men regarding pay and bounty money. The men alleged that they had not been paid their bounty money, nor the arrears of their pay, and that they had been ill-used in many ways by their officers. To add to this discontent some evil disposed individuals circulated among the soldiers billeted in the lower part of the city a wicked and malicious story to the effect that Lord Seaforth had sold them to the East India Company, and that they were to be sent to that distant and unhealthy climate under the Company's control. The discontent engendered by this fabrication soon became rampant, but it was on the morning of the embarkation that it made itself openly manifest. departure of the companies in the Castle was so timed that they were to meet their comrades at the New Bridge. When they did meet, the malcontents openly rebelled, to the confusion and bewilderment of the inhabitants and soldiers not in the secret. After the disturbance on the street the men were with difficulty marched to Leith Links, and five hundred of them were actually got on board, but no overtures could conciliate the others, who shouldered their arms, and with pipes playing, and a plaid fixed upon two poles for colours, marched to Arthur's Seat, where they pitched a camp. Officers were appointed by the men, sentries were posted, while ammunition and a well-furnished commissariat was

supplied by the people of Edinburgh. It is noteworthy that on the 4th October following Seaforth published in 'Ruddiman's Weekly Mercury' a letter denying, as an infamous falsehood, the story that he had on his knees begged for his life from his enraged soliders on the streets of Edinburgh. Clearly the paragraphist had not the glories at heart of the House of Kintail."

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